

JUNE 1958
VOLUME 39, NUMBER 1

THE *Southwestern*
SOCIAL SCIENCE QUARTERLY

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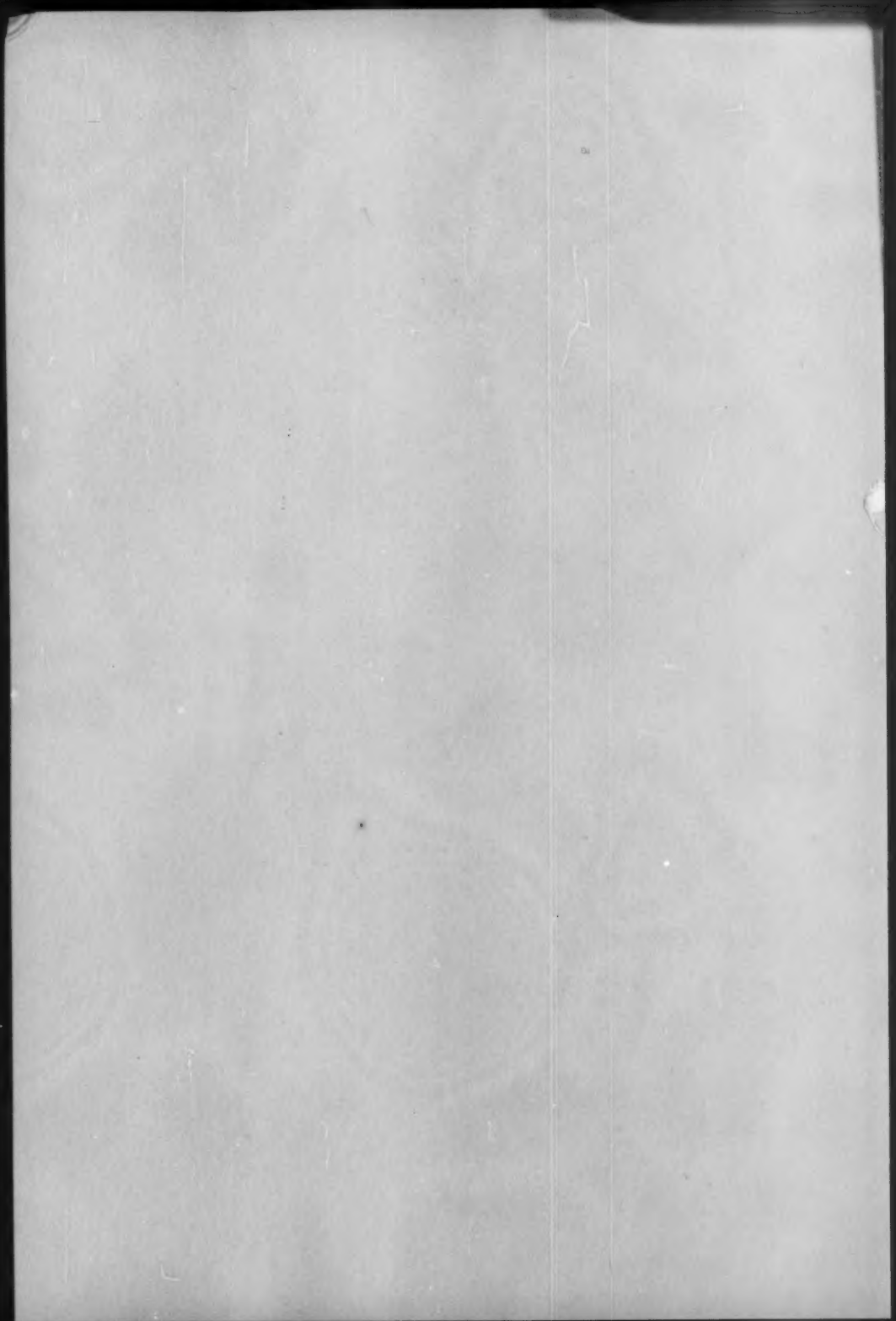
Electoral Behavior of the Suburban Voter

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Published jointly by THE SOUTHWESTERN SOCIAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION
and the UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS PRESS



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Entered as second-class matter at the post office at Austin, Texas, under act of March 3, 1879. Published quarterly.

THE SOUTHWESTERN SOCIAL SCIENCE QUARTERLY is the official organ of the Southwestern Social Science Association. The subscription price is \$5.00 a year or \$1.25 a copy to members; \$2.50 a year to students. Subscriptions to the QUARTERLY

and all membership payments should be addressed to the secretary-treasurer of the Association, James M. Owen, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana. Any change in address should also be reported to the secretary-treasurer. All manuscripts should be addressed to the editor, Harry Estill Moore, University of Texas, Austin 12, Texas. Books for review should be sent to H. Malcolm Macdonald, Book Review Editor, University of Texas, Austin 12, Texas.

THE QUARTERLY is indexed by the *Public Affairs Information Service* and the *International Index*.

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Sputnik and the Social Sciences

J. WILLIAM DAVIS

TEXAS TECHNOLOGICAL COLLEGE

LAST SPRING I was privileged to attend a dinner honoring Dr. Caleb Perry Patterson, of The University of Texas, who was retiring from teaching after a long and distinguished career at that school. Dr. Patterson was the founder and guiding spirit, in its early days, of this Association. He envisioned the desirability of an association of social scientists in the Southwest region, where a group of scholars could meet together to exchange ideas and discuss the common problems and obligations of social scientists. As President of this Association, I want to take this opportunity to pay my personal respects, and those of the Association, to this great educator.

In his comments at the retirement dinner, Dr. Patterson emphasized as his theme the responsibility of social scientists to adjust to the changing conditions of the changing world. This was before the launching of Sputnik and the clamor to meet this challenge to American scientific leadership, but the theme that Dr. Patterson was developing seems particularly appropriate at this time.

I would like today to pick up this theme and apply it to the responsibilities of the social sciences in the world of today, which is dominated by the presence of Sputnik.

When Sputnik was announced to a startled world in October of 1957, it seemed almost incomprehensible that the Russians could have gone ahead of us in the scientific race and produced this space satellite, an accomplishment which was only in the planning stage with us. Our reactions were immediate and ranged all the way from mild concern to radical proposals for revolutionizing our educational system to copy that of the USSR.

The Honorable Carl Vinson, chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, has been quoted as saying:

Until recently I thought "Sputnik" was the Russian word for "satellite." Now it appears it has an English synonym—"hysteria." Had we begun our program sooner, had we concentrated on it at an earlier date, I have no doubt that we could

NOTE.—Presidential address delivered at the annual convention of the Southwestern Social Science Association, Dallas, Texas, April 4, 1958.

have launched the first earth-circling satellite. Because we did not do this, the alarmists tell us that our system must be responsible.¹

Most evident in all the discussions and proposals is the emphasis now being placed on education. The public generally—and our leaders especially—have begun to realize the importance of education to our national life and safety. The once-derided egghead is now being called upon to come out of his ivory tower and furnish the brains to restore our primacy in scientific development.

Recent periodicals, newsstories, and television programs have highlighted comments by many leaders and authorities in various fields emphasizing the fact that our whole future and even our national survival may be dependent upon our high schools and colleges.² Some typical comments and recommendations follow:

Dr. James R. Killian, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, recently named Special Assistant to the President as Scientific Co-ordinator, urged the need for more and better education for scientists and engineers as well as for students in other fields.³ H. R. Gaither, author of the famous Gaither report on United States defenses against Russia, insisted that our educational program is the concern of all our citizens and urged greater financial support as well as increased position and prestige for teachers.⁴ Senator Lyndon Johnson stated that we need a large reservoir of trained minds to safeguard the country in time of war as well as to work for the achievement of peace.⁵ Vice-President Nixon pointed out that in order to have better schools we must have better teachers and that our need is for "teaching scholars," not just "teaching technicians."⁶

Devereaux C. Josephs, head of the President's Committee on Education Beyond the High School, called for doubled faculty salaries and a nationwide campaign to recruit college teachers.⁷ Rear Admiral W. G. Schindler deplored our tendency to teach "more and more students less and less of the

¹ Quoted in a speech by Rear Admiral W. G. Schindler, United States Navy, before the Lions Club of Lubbock, Texas, March 18, 1958.

² *Life* (January 13, 1958) devoted several pages to the opinions of a number of prominent American leaders.

³ *Ibid.* Killian was also included on the television program "Satellites, Schools, and Survival," produced by Charles Van Doren for the Columbia Broadcasting System, March 9, 1958. This program is cited hereafter as "Satellites, Schools, and Survival."

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ "Satellites, Schools, and Survival."

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Life* (January 13, 1958). Josephs' committee was far ahead of general public opinion, for it had made similar recommendations a year ago. See Josephs', "The President's Committee on Education Beyond the High School: A Progress Report," *Association of American Colleges Bulletin*, Vol. XLIII, No. 1 (March, 1957).

great disciplines which form an educated man."⁸ Charles Van Doren summed up the principal ideas by reminding us that we cannot depend just on man power, sea power, or air power for the safety of the nation. We must depend now on *brain power*. This can come only through our educational system, our schools and our teachers.⁹

It is within this framework of educational emphasis and examination,¹⁰ stimulated by the advent of Sputnik, that I wish to present three areas which represent challenges to the social sciences and consequently call for responsibilities on our part for their proper solution.¹¹

First, there is the responsibility to preserve and re-emphasize the social sciences in the face of the pressure created by the near-hysterical urge to improve the fields of physical science and engineering. The danger is that the overemphasis of one will cause the neglect and de-emphasis of the other. The social sciences may be almost completely ignored in educational planning. And I might add that what I say of the social sciences applies equally to the humanities.

The launching of the Soviet satellite caused a national concern which demanded a quick technological retaliation. Our immediate reaction was to "go all out" in the fields of physical science and engineering. Several hasty steps were taken, including emphasis on scientific research, increased appropriations for our satellite program, and the creation of an office of scientific co-ordination.

President Eisenhower, on the recommendation of the Director of the National Science Foundation and the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, presented to Congress a recommended program aimed at strengthening our educational system for the future. One phase of the program, to be administered through the National Science Foundation, was aimed at improvement in the teaching and the programs of the natural sciences and mathematics. It also proposed scholarships to encourage graduate study in those fields. The second phase of the program proposes a federal program to be administered through the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, aimed toward strengthening general education as well as scientific

⁸ See note 1.

⁹ "Satellites, Schools, and Survival."

¹⁰ For a very fine statement from an official body of educators, see the statement of the Problems and Policies Committee of the American Council on Education, *Public Understanding and Support for Education* (Washington, D.C., Publications Division of the American Council on Education, February, 1958).

¹¹ I shall not attempt to discuss here the problem of the shortage of teachers, certainly a real and a vital one. It remains to be seen whether the United States is willing to pay the cost necessary to furnish quality and quantity education. For a recent informative study on the availability of teachers, see *Teacher Supply and Demand in Colleges and Universities*, a study conducted by the Research Division of the National Education Association in 1957.

education in the state and local school systems. This part of the program gave foreign languages a much-needed boost, but the emphasis was on natural science and engineering.¹²

I have no quarrel with the idea of building proficiency and interest in the natural scientific and technical fields, so long as this emphasis does not endanger other areas of learning. The history of the National Science Foundation shows that, though the social sciences are nominally included in its program of research, almost exclusively the attention and the money have been devoted to the natural sciences—to the neglect of the social sciences.¹³

I doubt that we, as social scientists, can accept the "dribble down" or the "wedge" theory, which implies that all will profit by the emphasis on one field and that, in the long run, the social sciences will benefit by the emphasis now being given to the natural sciences. I suggest that we should endorse the warning given by the Educational Policies Commission against favoritism to the physical sciences as opposed to the other branches of learning.¹⁴

We must remain aware, during the present excitement, that technological advances take place within social systems, and that these advances interact upon each other. To neglect one in favor of the other is to court disaster, for the social conditions must keep abreast of the technological developments, just as technological development must reflect social necessity. It is the duty of the social sciences to synthesize, to harmonize, and to give direction to these technological developments. Dr. W. H. Pickering, director of the California Institute of Technology's jet propulsion laboratory, has been quoted as saying: "Physical science has brought us to this stage. The solution must come from some other source."¹⁵

Our responsibility, then, as social science teachers, is to realize ourselves the importance of our field in the modern world and to attempt to fulfill our obligations as social scientists to our society. The public and our leaders must be made to feel that the social sciences play a vital role in the decision-making and value judgments of our society. Someone has aptly said that what the nation needs today even more than scientists is men of wisdom and vision.

In this time of world crisis and international tensions which influence all of our policies, it becomes increasingly important that we create and develop social intelligence. Pendleton Herring, president of the Social Science Re-

¹² *Higher Education and National Affairs*, Bulletin No. 5, Vol. VII (Feb. 5, 1958), cited hereafter as *Higher Education*.

¹³ Harry Alpert, program director for Social Science Research, National Science Foundation, "The Knowledge We Need Most," *Saturday Review* (Feb. 1, 1958), pp. 36-38.

¹⁴ See note 2.

¹⁵ As quoted in the *Lubbock Morning Avalanche*, March 17, 1958.

search Council, has said: "As a nation, we will be called upon to make choices that call for a full appreciation of the consequences."¹⁶

Thus the important decisions of the leadership of our society, as well as our individual decisions, are fundamentally influenced by our awareness of the society in which we live, the problems faced by that society, and the values upon which we, as individuals, base our judgments and decisions. The social sciences are fundamental to these decisions, and, in the final analysis, our national fate may hinge upon our response to the challenge in the field of social science.

If our educational programs and our way of life reflect more emphasis on materialism and technology than on our social organism, then we may be losing that priceless tradition of national character that has been so important in making us strong. To quote Admiral Schindler again:

What we have to worry about is that, with the declining level of education—with the vulgarization of the cultural standards of our mass society—we shall become a big but second-rate people, fat, Philistine, and self-indulgent. . . . In recent years we have retrogressed in the personal qualities of integrity, fortitude, stamina, resourcefulness, and hard work which have made our country great.¹⁷

We must convince the general public, state legislatures, boards of regents, and college presidents of the importance of the role of the social sciences in our democratic society. We must not let them become the step-children in our academic family.

A second present responsibility of the social sciences is in the field of teacher education. As teachers of the social sciences we must accept the challenge for better teaching and the production of better brain power for the nation. We should ourselves attempt to be those "teaching scholars" that the Vice-President called for. We also have the obligation to help produce and inspire teachers for the colleges and the secondary level. We must not be content with sending partially trained teachers into the field. We should be indignant at the suggestion—often made—that *anyone* can teach the social sciences and that no particular educational emphasis is needed for that teaching.

At this point, I would like to make a plea for the college teachers of social sciences to participate more actively in our programs of teacher education. Admitting the necessity for high quality in teachers of the natural sciences, we must realize that the same necessity exists for teachers of the social sci-

¹⁶ "Expand the School!" *Saturday Review* (Feb. 1, 1958), p. 39.

¹⁷ See note 1. See also A. Whitney Griswold, "The Cost of Freedom: An Academic View," *Association of American Colleges Bulletin* (March, 1957). President Griswold, of Yale University, suggests that many of our college curricula have abandoned the liberal arts and by so doing have neglected instruction in the principles and meaning of freedom.

ences. As college teachers of these subjects, the responsibility lies with us to see that future generations of teachers of social sciences are educated and inspired to go into the schools to do a first-class job of teaching.

Since the Second World War we have been faced with a rapidly increasing public-school population and a scarcity of qualified teachers. The schools of education and the professional educators, trying to meet this great need for trained teachers, made a great many revisions in the teacher-education program and undertook a program of indoctrination and public education to interest people in the teaching profession. They did a magnificent job of educating the public to the needs for more and better teachers, in raising the standards of pay, and in creating a better professional attitude among the teachers.

In the process, however, they virtually took over control of the entire teacher-education program, and we in the subject-matter fields awoke to find that we no longer had an important role to play in the education of future teachers. More and more, the high-school teachers became the product of departments of professional education—almost to the exclusion of the subject matter in various fields.

Without attempting to go into the arguments that have raged, and still rage, over subject matter *versus* professional education, I would like to make a plea for the social sciences. I believe that the requirements in professional education should be reduced to the extent necessary to permit the return of the Bachelor of Arts degree as a recognized teaching degree. We have all seen this degree replaced by some type of degree in education. Even though for the education degrees a subject major is required, the emphasis has been shifted from the A.B. to such an extent that very few teachers go into the teaching profession with the A.B. degree. We find that in arranging our programs for teacher education, it is almost impossible to maintain the traditional requirements of the A.B. degree in a teacher-education program because of the number of hours required in professional education. I am not proposing that the degree in education should be abandoned, but I would like to allow the degree of Bachelor of Arts, with our traditional requirements and our traditional major-minor patterns, to be offered as an alternative to the degree in teacher education. Theoretically, this is permitted at the present time, but, in practice, most teachers are turned in the direction of the education degree rather than the A.B. degree.

In a recent message to Congress on education,¹⁸ President Eisenhower emphasized the importance of subject matter in the training of teachers. One of the points he specifically stressed was a provision for additional

¹⁸ *Higher Education*.

subject-matter emphasis in the preparation and refreshing of natural science and math teachers. The same emphasis applies to the social sciences. As college teachers of these subjects, we have a grave and important responsibility in the training of future teachers. If the social sciences are important in our national life, then the training of teachers in this field is of tremendous significance.

We once trained our teachers in these fields. Today, we have only a minor role in that training. We lost our position because of our own indifference and our failure to exert leadership in this field of teacher education. It is now our responsibility to re-enter that field with renewed interest and vigor and to take an active part in the process of educating and preparing teachers in the social sciences.

Our third great responsibility, today as always, is to maintain our integrity and to pursue our research and teaching in the face of the opposition and criticism which are always present in the social sciences. Dealing as it does with problems of society and human relationships, our field is such that we shall always face criticism. From the time of the trial and conviction of Socrates to the recent firings of social science teachers at Texas Tech., the pressures have always been with us. The social forces creating these pressures may be reactionary or radical; they may grow out of personal or group vindictiveness; they may result from timid fear of the processes of social change or from vested interests which vigorously resist certain reform.¹⁹ We have seen rather clearly that when these pressures are applied to the natural sciences, there is a resulting lag in scientific progress. Less obvious is the effect on the social sciences, but in the long run the results may be even more disastrous. We know that these pressures are ever present; our responsibility is to face them with courage and dignity.

We must not lose our concept of a university as a community of scholars honestly and courageously searching for truth. Truths, in the field of the social sciences, are less material than those in the natural sciences, and less susceptible to framing into natural laws acceptable by all. Our field is always controversial, and, in recognition of this danger, modern society has fairly well recognized the concept of what we call academic freedom.

As social science teachers, we have an important role to play in the preservation of this traditional concept of freedom. We must resist the pressures which seek to destroy that freedom, but at the same time, we must recognize our responsibility for maintaining it.

In this age of Sputnik we have great responsibilities. As teachers and as social scientists we have a leading role to play in our national life. I am not

¹⁹ Richard Hofstadter and Walter P. Matzger, *The Development of Academic Freedom in the United States* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1955).

suggesting that the teacher and the intellectual be viewed with awe, nor that there be a ceremony providing halos for the egghead. I do maintain, however, that the intellectual should be recognized as an essential and important part of our national leadership.

We cannot afford to let the wells of intellectualism go dry at a time when there is the greatest need for watering of the seeds of wisdom. The ivory tower of the academician may well prove to be the mighty fortress that represents the strength of the nation and that guards its future safety.

American Anticolonialism and French Africa

IAN FORBES FRASER

DIRECTOR, AMERICAN LIBRARY IN PARIS

EVENTS OF THE PAST FEW YEARS, and more especially, of recent months, have begun to shake our confidence in anticolonialism as a basic component of our attitude toward foreign peoples. From the earliest days of our Republic, Americans have used the "consent of the governed" principle to determine our behavior in times of crisis, and obviously one of our most frequent applications of this principle has been in our consideration of "colonial" situations. Since the Second World War, our known opposition to "imperialism" has been a significant factor in the transforming of colonies into self-governing nations.

Of late, however—and perhaps too late—a re-evaluation of our traditional position seems to be in process. The results of the Conference of Bandung; the tone of the recent Afro-Asian Conference at Cairo; the exaggerated and intransigent accusations made by nations whose social system is feudal, if not worse, against the Western peoples whose philosophers, political scientists, and moralists have created over the centuries what little decency there is in the world; and, particularly, the eager assistance offered by the Soviet government to the "aspirations" of the colonial and ex-colonial territories—these are factors leading many Americans to wonder whether, in destroying the long-established positions of allied nations around the world, we have not been, in fact, opening new areas to communism and weakening not only our allies of the West but also ourselves.

The reply of those who believe in our traditional policy is that in a free and prosperous world, there will be no place for communism. The blessings of a happy peace will spread to all peoples, who, like us, will have the joyous possibility of going to hell in a two-tone convertible. But is there time in the twentieth century for this long and beneficent evolution? Is it not more likely that the chaos resulting from a too-sudden liberation may lead to exactly the reverse of what we seek: to dictatorship—even Communist dictatorship—rather than to democracy as we preach it?

The author's recent experiences in Algeria, the Sahara, and several of the

territories of French West Africa may shed some light on new aspects of the colonial problem and on new directions that are being taken in the evolution of colonial peoples; and these new directions, in turn, may show us how our traditional aspirations for these peoples can be satisfied without at the same time condemning them to the fate from which we would like to save what remains of the free world.

The story of the Algerian situation, now in its fourth year, has been badly told in America. The information given to the American people has been concerned almost exclusively with the horrors of terrorism and counterterrorism or with the unrealistic subtleties of the various proposals for political and social reforms. Worse, the *fellagha* terrorists have been presented as authentic freedom-fighters, struggling to liberate their land from a tyrannical foreign power, and therefore spiritual descendants of our own Minutemen of '76. But as a matter of fact, there are two other—and completely different—considerations that are important for Americans seeking to know how they should react to the Algerian problem.

The first consideration is that the development of modern Algeria has followed almost exactly the same pattern as that of our own Western states. The opening-up of Algeria to agriculture and industry has been the work of European immigrants over the last century, and the 1,200,000 Europeans who now live in its cities, towns, and rural areas are as fully citizens of Algeria as the Texans and Oklahomans of today are citizens of the states whose wealth was created by themselves and their forefathers. It makes exactly as much sense, therefore, to expect the Algerians of European origin to "go back where they came from" as it would to propose the same thing to our own modern Westerners. Indeed, since the third- and fourth-generation European Algerians of today are a mixture of many European races (as we ourselves are), with little or no connection with the original settlers' homelands, the mere suggestion of such a "repatriation" is an absurdity.

These facts lead directly to the second consideration. Since the European Algerians cannot "go back where they came from," it is obvious that a solution must be found that will permit them to live side by side with the Moslem Algerians, who now number 8,500,000 but whose population growth is so fantastic that their number will double within the next twenty years. It seems unlikely that any effective system of birth control can be instituted to reduce this estimate. (Incidentally, 55 per cent of the 8,500,000 are under twenty years of age, a situation which gives a measure of the educational and employment problems confronting French administrators in Algeria.) The problem, then, is seen to be one with which we are tragically familiar: how to get two racial groups to live together on the same ground at the same time in some kind of a harmonious, functioning community. It should be remem-

bered that the two racial groups in Algeria are separated also by language and by religion, factors which make the problem more complicated than our own. We know by now that years—or generations—will be needed to develop a viable solution in the United States. Yet we accuse the French of retrograde colonialism because they do not produce at once a solution to their more complicated version of our own problem.

To these two basic considerations concerning Algeria, some practical conclusions should be added as to what would be likely to happen if, under outside pressure, France were to abandon Algeria. The first immediate result would be a blood bath such as the world has not seen in a long time. The second, and almost as rapid, result would be that the economic machinery of the country would grind to a halt. The third result, which would not be long delayed either, would be the installation of the only force in the world today that thrives on chaos and confusion: communism. It is not necessary to be an expert on global strategy to understand that the power which controls the south shore of the Mediterranean outflanks our European NATO defense lines and our air bases in Spain, and it seems unlikely that our naval commanders would be happy to allow an important part of our fleet to operate in the Mediterranean, a closed sea, if all of one shore and the entrance were in the hands of an unfriendly force.

Algeria, then, is a very special type of "colonial" problem. Before choosing too quickly the solution based on our traditional idealism, the conscientious American might well ponder whether, in fact, such a solution would serve the interests of the Algerian people—Moslem and European—the free world in general, and ourselves in particular.

The newly acquired importance of the Sahara is only beginning to be appreciated by France's allies in the West. For centuries, the Sahara has been thought of as the land of thirst and the realm of nomads, an interminable stretch whose dead stillness is only occasionally enlivened by the passage of a picturesque camel train. More recently, it has been represented as a vast sandy hinterland to Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, and Libya. But as a result of the recent work of French geologists, oil prospectors, and drillers, the visitor to the Sahara today rapidly changes his point of view and realizes almost at once that Algeria, at least, is only a tiny front balcony on the Mediterranean for the rich vastness of the desert.

The real significance of the oil of Hassi-Messaoud, Edjelé, or Hassi-R'Mel, the first shipment of which reached the port of Philippeville in Algeria on January 11, 1958, is that within three or four years more than half of France's needs in oil will be satisfied from her own Saharan wells. The consequent improvement in the French international economic position through a reduction in her expenditure of hard currencies, particularly dol-

lars, for sources of energy will strengthen France as a member of the Atlantic Alliance. It is also likely that the dependence of Western Europe on the oil of the Middle East will be greatly reduced, and this result alone would seem to justify the congratulations and good wishes that France's allies are extending to her at this time.

And oil is only one of the miracles of the modern Sahara. The second great miracle is water, whose discovery in significant amounts is one of the side results of prospecting for oil. Geologists have believed for a long time that most of the Sahara is underlain by a water-bearing stratum; it has now been located and pierced for the first time at the oasis of Ouargla, not far from the fabulous oil field of Hassi-Messaoud. The water, slightly sulphurous, lies at a depth of three thousand feet, and the bed in which it is found is approximately one thousand feet thick. The first artesian well at Ouargla can produce some four thousand gallons a minute, at a temperature of 118° F. It is probable that similar wells can be drilled in other oases, and it takes little imagination to foresee transformations in the life pattern of the sedentary peoples who inhabit them.

At Ouargla, the first result has been the creation of some 750 acres of new palm groves, now under way. The date palms being planted under the direction of the French administrators are an improved variety, lower and bushier than the wild palms that constitute the original verdure of the oases. As more and more plantings take place, harvesting the fruit can soon pass from the stage of athletic artisanship to that of systematized agriculture. Better, under the shade of the new trees, forage and food crops of many kinds can be grown, opening up possibilities for a better living standard for the local populations.

These transformations in the traditional agriculture come at a most propitious moment. The young men of the oases have been finding work at the drilling rigs for the past two years, but once the oil wells have been drilled, capped, and hooked on to the pipeline, employment will cease for many young natives. The French administrators are planning for the rational and productive agriculture that will result from the use of the newly tapped water supply to absorb the manpower released at the end of the drilling operations.

This kind of forward planning to meet an economic and social situation that is still only a projection is not yet within the competence of the people of the oases themselves. The European, with his discovery and exploitation of hidden wealth, has brought into the sleepy, traditional life of the Sahara oases a factor of disruption, a ferment that expresses itself in new needs and new demands. But he is also accepting the consequences of his invasion of this age-old land and these antique and rigid societies. In words so old-fashioned they seem almost unusable today, the European is shouldering the

"white man's burden." The damage—if damage it be—to the ancient ways of life has been done; better, then, that these simple peoples should be guided for yet a while into paths that conceivably will lead them to newer and higher levels of personal and community achievement.

A completely different aspect of colonial evolution is to be seen in French Africa, the vast area almost the size of the continental United States which extends, minus a few British, Spanish, and Portuguese enclaves, from Dakar to the Sudan, and from the Algerian and Libyan borders to the Gulf of Guinea and the Oubangui and Congo rivers. This area is divided into two federations: French West Africa, composed of eight territories (Mauritania, Senegal, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Dahomey, French Sudan, Upper Volta, Niger); and French Equatorial Africa, with four (Middle Congo, Gabon, Oubangui-Chari, Chad). In the French sphere one may also include the newly autonomous Republic of Togo, and the Cameroons, a United Nations trust territory, though in these two areas the political evolution is following a somewhat different pattern.

To keep pace with the rapid development of political consciousness in the twelve African territories, the French Parliament adopted a *loi-cadre*, or basic law, on June 23, 1956, authorizing the government to initiate reforms and to take such measures as would "guarantee the evolution" of the overseas territories of France. One of the noteworthy provisions of this law is that all elections for representatives, to either the Parliament in Paris or the territorial and local assemblies, are to be conducted on the basis of universal suffrage, with no racial separation of candidates or voters.

Since the adoption of the basic law, new institutions have been set up in each of the twelve territories of the two federations. Elections for the territorial legislatures were held on March 31, 1957, and the new legislatures designated representatives to the Grand Council of each federation. They also selected and invested cabinets of ministers, charged with the responsibility of the departments of government normally found in any evolved country: Agriculture, Finances, Labor, Commerce, Health and Welfare, Education, Interior (public order), and so on. France has reserved for herself approximately the same powers as are reserved to our own federal government under the Constitution, but, as can be seen by the titles of the ministers, all other affairs of each territory are in the hands of the local councils of government. The role of the French governor is roughly that of "Chief of State," and he is essentially a moderator and arbiter at the sessions of the council, whose activity is directed by its African vice-president.

The simultaneous creation of twelve autonomous governments, a task never before undertaken, was accomplished with amazing smoothness. This is the more astonishing when it is realized that many of the new cabinet

officers had had no previous experience in government. Former French administrators, in turn, became technical advisers to the new responsible African ministers. It is obvious that in such a total reversal of roles there should have been some French officials who found it difficult to adapt themselves to the new regime; these men have been, or are being, replaced.

The theory behind this evolution is, of course, that native peoples must be trained over a period of years for full independence and that this training can best be carried out in a spirit of co-operation and mutual confidence by men who are thoroughly familiar with the needs and problems of the native populations. A remark by one of the African ministers reveals much about the quality of this spirit of mutual trust: "Whenever I have a problem too difficult for me to solve, I take it to the Governor. But in submitting the problem to him, I never have the slightest suspicion that he will take advantage of my simplicity." A young French ex-administrator, now technical adviser to his minister, well summarized his role: "My job is to keep my minister from making blunders, but I must not let him know that I am keeping him from making them." With this spirit on both sides, the success of a bold experiment is likely, and it is possible that the results will be more satisfactory than in a country like Ghana, where the complete withdrawal of British control has opened the door to strange adventures in the direction of an African dictatorship, as recent press reports have made only too clear.

The basic problems of this vast region are, of course, education and the development of the economy. These lands are rich in mineral resources, probably in oil, and certainly in hydro-electric power. The magnitude of the task of the coming years was expressed by one of the young African ministers, who pointed around his smartly appointed, air-conditioned office and said: "It took you two thousand years to move from the forests of Western Europe to this; we have to make the same evolution in two thousand days." Great projects in the infrastructure of the territories have already been realized or are in the course of development, such as the new port of Cotonou in Dahomey and the hydro-electric dam and aluminum plant on the Konkouré in Guinea. This industrialization implies, however, the training of Africans to play many different roles in the development of their territories, and it implies as well such an organization of living and working conditions as to avoid the creation of shanty towns and the proletarianization and consequent certain communization of the African masses. To accomplish these results under the best conditions will require the skilled advice and devoted collaboration of Europeans. The new African ministers realize this. One of them has said: "You will find the word 'independence' in many of my speeches. Fortunately, none of my listeners has ever asked me the key questions: 'Independence for what?' 'Independence with what?'"

Under French guidance, it is possible that these vast and strategically im-

portant regions of Africa will remain in the free world. However, we should not delude ourselves that there is any imperative reason why this should be so. Fortunately for us, because Africa has been developed by our allies of the West—the British, the French, the Belgians, the Portuguese, and the Spaniards—there is a predisposition in our favor. It is no exaggeration to say that, despite this predisposition, these areas can be lost to the West because of an unfavorable judgment about us Americans. "Can you explain why your American policy jumps over the heads of your own Negroes to come and preach democracy here in Africa?" asked one African minister.

The key word in this question is "preach"; we and the free world are being judged in Africa today by how closely we match our practice with our preaching. If we wish to hold Africa in our orbit, we would be well advised to concentrate on finding a solution to our own domestic racial problem. We should also avoid upsetting the applecart of our Western allies in the undeveloped parts of the world in the name of a vague and outdated anti-colonialism, for our allies are far more likely to hold these new nations on our side than we are.

Conquest by Diplomacy

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ADOLF HITLER'S CONQUESTS shocked the world with their speed. Nazi aggressions seemed to occur overnight. Such, however, was not the case with the seizure of Austria in 1938, an aggression accomplished by a signed agreement. The road to the Austrian *Anschluss* was prepared by the July 11, 1936, Austro-German Agreement, the instrument which enabled Hitler to force the surrender of the Austrian government. The full story of the negotiations leading to this agreement cannot be known until the German diplomatic documents have been published, but it is possible to examine Hitler's use of this agreement to ensnare Austria.

By the spring of 1936 the international situation for Austria was bleak. Her best protection against Hitler had been the Stresa Front, when Britain, France, and Italy closed ranks after the Nazis attempted to overthrow the Austrian government in July, 1934. The Anglo-German Naval Pact of June, 1935, and Mussolini's invasion of Ethiopia in October, 1935, ended the Stresa Front. Hitler had shown the weakness of the League of Nations by his withdrawal from it in 1933, the introduction of conscription, reactivation of the *Luftwaffe*, and remilitarization of the Rhineland in 1936. From the West had come verbal protests but not action.

In *Mein Kampf* Hitler was explicit: Austria should become a part of Germany. To avoid this fate Kurt von Schuschnigg, the Austrian chancellor, believed he must seek agreement with Hitler since Austria was too weak to oppose Germany alone and could find no outside help. The Austrian chancellor could only hope that an agreement with Hitler would postpone the *Anschluss* until the international situation changed for the better.¹

On July 11, 1936, Hitler's special ambassador to Austria, Franz von Papen, and Schuschnigg signed the secret agreement which prepared the way for the end of independent Austria.

According to the Agreement, nationals of either country would not be hindered in their activities so long as they complied with the laws. The

¹ Testimony of Guido Schmidt, *Trial of the Major War Criminals before the International Military Tribunal*, hereafter cited as *T.M.C.* (Nuremberg, International Military Tribunal, 1946), Vol. XVI, pp. 149-150.

governments pledged noninterference in the internal politics of the other, no attempt to influence citizens of the other state by propaganda, a reciprocal relaxation of cultural restrictions, and that the press of each would refrain from exerting political pressure on the internal affairs of the other. Five newspapers from each nation would be admitted to the other. A speedy solution would be found for the problem of Austrian Nazi exiles in the Reich. The Reich pledged to restore normal economic relations with Austria and to lift restrictions on tourist traffic. The Austrian government promised "to conduct its foreign policy in the light of the peaceful endeavors of the German government's foreign policy," to grant political amnesty, and to allow members of the National Opposition (Austrian Nazis) to participate in the government. Any complaints arising over the agreement would be handled by three members of the foreign ministry of each nation.²

Ostensibly the purpose of the Agreement was to improve relations between the two nations. Actually the Nazis were given full opportunity to cause trouble, propagandize, call for a greater Reich, and make general nuisances of themselves. Austrian objections to this would be interpreted as contrary to the July 11 Agreement.

Austria lacked sufficient means to force the German government's adherence to the agreement. The weak Austrian economy was dependent on German trade, and Austrian border regions relied heavily on German tourist trade. With this weapon, Germany could force Austrian acquiescence to Nazi activities.

Germany was the victor in the matter of admitting five newspapers to each nation. The five German papers were blatant Nazi propaganda sheets, but the five Austrian papers were conspicuous for their uniform tameness. The agreed-upon political amnesty would free those who had sought to overthrow the Austrian government and help Nazi aggression, and the Agreement would reinstate police officials who had been removed from office because they endangered the Austrian government.

The clauses calling for the National Opposition's participation in the government were interpreted by Berlin to mean that either Nazis or their friends should be admitted to the cabinet. Applying such a policy meant the end of independent Austria, for there was no promise that the Austrian Nazis would change their goal: *Anschluss* with the Reich.

Europe learned of the Agreement from press releases. The two governments declared that they had entered into it to restore their relations to a more friendly status. The Reich recognized the full sovereignty of the federal state of Austria. Each promised to regard the political structure of

² German-Austrian Agreement, July 11, 1936, *Documents on German Foreign Policy 1918-1945*, series D, hereafter cited as *D.G.F.P.* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1949), Vol. I, pp. 278-281.

the other as an internal affair and to refrain from indirect or direct influence. Austrian policies would be based on the principle that Austria was a German state.³ From such statements foreign offices could only conclude that Austria had become a German satellite.

Five days after the signing, Hitler broke the Agreement. On July 16 he personally ordered the leaders of the Austrian Nazis to "work for the *Anschluss* through the July 11 Agreement" and to abstain from the violent tactics of the past, which had helped to create the Stresa Front. The now-legal and very respectable Austrian Nazi party would become the base from which to overthrow the Vienna government.⁴

By July 23, amnesty had been proclaimed by the Austrian government for 17,045 people.⁵ These were Austrian Nazis who had demonstrated for the overthrow of the legal government of Austria. Would they behave? Street fights, riots, parades, and similar rowdy occurrences could destroy the Agreement. All that Schuschnigg could depend upon was the word of Hitler and his diplomats.

Before July was over, the Nazis revealed their interpretation of this aspect of the July 11 Agreement. The torch bearing the flame from Mount Olympus to Berlin for the 1936 Olympics was received in Vienna on July 29. For this occasion the authorities had planned dignified ceremonies, but the Nazis turned them into riots. Mobs roared out the forbidden "Horst Wessel Song" as the police looked on. Cries of "Heil Hitler! Sieg Heil! Sieg Heil!" drowned out the speakers. Nazi leaders openly issued orders to their supporters while the police stood by. Not until late in the night did the government arrest any of the rioters. The screams of "Sieg Heil!" were proof of what the July 11 Agreement meant to the Nazis.

When pictures of Hitler and assorted Nazi notables watching the Olympic games were cut out of the newsreels, demonstrations erupted in Vienna theaters in late August. The films of German cathedrals substituted for those of the Fuehrer infuriated the Nazi customers.⁶ If the pictures of Hitler were shown, Nazi lovers would riot in their enthusiasm for the Fuehrer. If they were deleted, Austria had broken the July 11 Agreement. Either way the Nazis benefited.

By October, Berlin saw signs that opposition to the July 11 Agreement was mounting, particularly in some of the Austrian ministries. By working for Austrian policies and neglecting concessions favorable to Germany,

³ German-Austrian Communique, July 11, 1936, *ibid.*, pp. 281-282.

⁴ Friedrich Rainer testimony, *T.M.C.*, Vol. XVI, p. 124; Rainer to Buerckel, July 6, 1939, *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression*, hereafter cited as *N.C.A.* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1946), Vol. III, pp. 587-596.

⁵ Von Papen to German Foreign Ministry, July 23, 1936, *D.G.F.P.*, Vol. I, pp. 289-290.

⁶ *New York Times*, July 30, August 30, 1936; Kurt von Schuschnigg's affidavit, *N.C.A.*, Vol. V, pp. 703-708.

Vienna was not fulfilling the July 11 Agreement. A warning was needed.

Hermann Göring, then only a colonel general, was unequivocal in his warning to Schuschnigg when they met in Budapest on October 10 at the funeral of the Hungarian minister-president: If Germany wanted the *Anschluss*, it was only a question to be solved by the nearest German divisional commander. Italy would not intervene to help Austria.⁷

In discussions over the Agreement in late October, German pressure continued until the Austrians agreed that the Nazi party could be re-established in Austria "without having to constitute itself as an association within the meaning of the Austrian laws." When they came to the refugee situation, the Austrians stood their ground and refused to take back the exiles *in toto*; only a limited number whose offenses were of a minor nature could return.⁸

Berlin won another victory in early November when Schuschnigg admitted into the cabinet Odo Neustaedter-Stuermer as minister of security and Major General Edmund Glaise-Horstenau as minister of the interior, positions affecting the administration and control of the police. Both men were friends of German policy, and the latter was in contact with Berlin and ready to perform as ordered.⁹ Apparently Schuschnigg thought their actions could be controlled and that their appointments would appease Hitler. At the same time their inclusion would offset Nazi charges that Austria was not fulfilling the July 11 Agreement.

Still Berlin was dissatisfied. To extract more concessions from Vienna under the terms of the Agreement, in November the Berlin government invited Austrian Foreign Secretary Guido Schmidt to Germany for an official visit. Schmidt was thought to be a great influence on Schuschnigg and to be very friendly toward Germany. In conferences with Schmidt, the German foreign minister, Konstantin von Neurath, demanded that the inclusion of Nazis in the cabinet be accelerated. Germany, he pointed out, was exerting pressure on the Austrian Nazi party to behave, but if the Austrian government did not carry out the July 11 Agreement in the proper spirit, there was danger of incidents.

Neurath gained vital concessions from Schmidt. Inns frequented by German societies could be decorated with the Reich flag. There would be closer co-operation in cultural activities, including scholarly societies and university appointments, and the ban on books would be lifted. Austria agreed to examine a list of five hundred refugees desiring repatriation and to consider

⁷ Memorandum of Altenburg, October 1, 1936; Memorandum from the German legation in Budapest, October 13, 1936, *D.G.F.P.*, Vol. I, pp. 300-301, 306-309.

⁸ German Foreign Ministry to Prussian Ministry of the Interior, November 11, 1936, *ibid.*, pp. 322-325. Offenses of a "minor nature" included crossing the border without permission, belonging to the Austrian Legion (a Nazi organization), distributing pamphlets, wearing an S. A. uniform.

⁹ Von Papen to Hitler, November 4, 1936, *ibid.*, pp. 314-317.

short stays for hardship cases. Germany, in turn, promised to increase Austrian imports and to loosen currency controls, permitting more travel from the Reich to Austria.¹⁰ Berlin realized, of course, how the changes in cultural relations and the increase in Austrian imports would work to the detriment of Austria. Nazi propaganda could flourish under the guise of culture; if Vienna objected, Berlin could cut off imports and harm Austrian economy. All would be in accord with the July 11 Agreement.

Great was the consternation in Berlin over Schuschnigg's speech to the Fatherland Front party officials at Klagenfurt on November 26. The Austrian Chancellor declared that the July 11 Agreement had nothing to do with Austrian domestic policy. "National Socialism in Austria is our enemy and opponent," he announced; "we are interested in no other [than the Fatherland Front party], for National Socialism in Germany does not concern us." To further infuriate the Nazis, Schuschnigg coupled communism with National Socialism as enemies of the nation.

In December, von Papen counterattacked, accusing Schuschnigg of placing Naziism on the same level as communism in the Klagenfurt speech. Schuschnigg argued that his speech was aimed at repudiating those in the Fatherland Front who protested against the July 11 Agreement. Von Papen retorted that the internal affairs of Austria were of concern to Germany; therefore, the Fatherland Front must adjust to the new situation. The July 11 Agreement was not to be a façade for allowing Austria to follow an individual policy.¹¹

In January, 1937, Neurath, following Hitler's orders, instructed von Papen to protest once more the "dilatatory behavior" of the Austrian government in releasing imprisoned Nazis. It was "a gross offense against the letter and spirit of the Agreement of July 11, 1936."¹² Schuschnigg had stalled because opening the doors of the prisons for every Nazi would only indicate the internal weakness of his government. Yet, if he did not release them, he would break the July 11 Agreement.

To counteract mutterings over his weakness, Schuschnigg again spoke to the Fatherland Front on February 14, declaring that the Austrian Nazis must acknowledge Austrian independence, accept the constitution of 1934, recognize the Fatherland Front, and renounce all political activities outside that organization. The form of Austrian government would be decided by the Austrian people at a time to be determined by Schuschnigg.

¹⁰ Neurath's memorandum, Neurath-Schmidt protocol, November 21, 1936, *ibid.*, pp. 342-347.

¹¹ German legation in Vienna to Foreign Ministry, November 27, 1936; Neurath to German legation in Vienna, November 28, 1936; von Papen to Hitler, December 2, 1936, *ibid.*, pp. 350-351, 360-362.

¹² Neurath to von Papen, January 27, 1937, *ibid.*, pp. 383-384.

Did this imply a restoration of the Hapsburg monarchy? Neurath was dispatched to Vienna within the month to warn Schuschnigg.¹³ His arrival in Vienna on February 2 was everything but peaceful. Nazis crowded into the city, demonstrating their love for Nazi Germany. As Neurath drove through the streets, the Fatherland Front vainly tried to make a pro-Schuschnigg demonstration, but the cries of "*Sieg Heil!*" drowned them out. Crowds of young Nazis broke through the police lines to shout "*Heil Hitler*" to Neurath face to face.

At the luncheon given by Schmidt for Neurath, the guest of honor thanked his hosts for "the most hearty welcome manifested by the whole German city which but proved that the policy inaugurated July 11 responded to the sincere desire of the whole German nation." To Schmidt and Schuschnigg, Neurath's warning was frank. Germany would not tolerate a restoration of the monarchy; to attempt it "would be the best way for Austria to commit suicide." Schuschnigg promised closer ties with the Reich.¹⁴

In the meetings of an Austro-German cultural committee, lasting from February 26 to March 2, Hitler's representatives objected to the Austrian deletions made in German newsreels of Hitler's speech in the Reichstag on January 30, 1937. The Austrians were forced to consider Hitler unobjectionable when he was acting as head of state. The German delegates wrung concessions permitting a less stringent censorship of broadcasts from Germany. After an angry debate, a decision was reached permitting *Mein Kampf* to enter "as soon as possible, reserving time and circumstances of the book's admission" to Austria.¹⁵

Offices of the Austrian Nazi party were raided by the police on May 2, and documents were seized which indicated its close connections with Germany. Immediately von Papen proclaimed that such documents were expressly contrary to the Fuehrer's orders regarding the July 11 Agreement. In spite of the fact that the documents could be used to prove that Germany, not Austria, was failing to fulfill the July 11 Agreement, the only defense made was a vigorous attack launched by von Papen against Schuschnigg later in May. Numerous incidents indicated negligence on Austria's part in keeping the July 11 Agreement, the Ambassador declared. Since July 11, 1936, the National Opposition had not been allowed to participate in the government, and all machinery to suppress the Nazis was still in force. The gracious Fuehrer, von Papen said, wanted only fulfillment of the July 11 Agreement by the Austrian government, but even his patience had its limit.

¹³ *New York Times*, February 15, 1937.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, February 23, 24, 28, 1937; memorandum of Neurath, February 25, 1937, *D.G.F.P.*, Vol. I, pp. 396-398; Franz von Papen, *Memoirs* (New York, E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1953), pp. 389-390.

¹⁵ Memorandum of Twardowski, March 8, 1937, *D.G.F.P.*, Vol. I, pp. 404-406.

Schuschnigg claimed that the radicalism of the Austrian Nazis and opposition from the Fatherland Front had prevented the complete fulfillment of the Agreement; moreover, he pointed out, the Agreement recognized the Austrian Nazis as an *internal* problem, yet Captain Josef Leopold, their leader, reported to Göring, a German. Von Papen denounced Schuschnigg's interpretation as incorrect. Violations of the Agreement were contrary to the Fuehrer's express orders; let Austria show the evidence and he would take action. Schuschnigg answered that he knew from the documentary evidence that many in the Austrian Nazi party expected the invasion of Austria by the Germans at any time. Denying the allegation, von Papen once more demanded the inclusion of Austrian Nazis in the cabinet. Again Schuschnigg refused.¹⁶

On June 17, Nazi activities in Austria were aided by Schuschnigg's appointment of Artur von Seyss-Inquart to the Federal State Council, whose duty it was to pacify the Austrian Nazis, in accordance with the terms of the July 11 Agreement. Seyss-Inquart, a lawyer, and respected by Schuschnigg, had been advocating the union of Germany and Austria since 1918. Apparently Schuschnigg hoped that his friend would be a moderating influence and that his appointment would appease Hitler. Seyss-Inquart was soon in contact with high German officials and became the leader of those Austrian Nazis who wanted the *Anschluss* by peaceful measures, i.e., through the operation of the July 11 Agreement.¹⁷

A conference in Vienna over the July 11 Agreement marked its first anniversary. Germany was represented by von Papen, State Secretary Wilhelm Keppler, and State Secretary Ernst von Weizaecker; Austria had Schmidt and Glaise-Horstenau. Again the Germans emerged with the honors: *Mein Kampf* would be sold in Austria, there would be relaxation in the censorship of German newsreels, quashing of proceedings against Austrian Nazis, admittance of more refugees, and greater freedom in the display of the Nazi flag and wearing of the Nazi emblems.¹⁸ On the surface, the concessions were strictly internal affairs covered by the July 11 Agreement, but all benefited Germany more than Austria.

The pressure from the German diplomats did not relax. When Schmidt called on Neurath, during the latter's vacation in Brand, Neurath charged that the July 11 Agreement had been imperfectly carried out by the Austrian government. He hinted that the unfortunate economic condition of the

¹⁶ Von Papen to Hitler, May 12, 26, 1937, *ibid.*, pp. 420-421, 425-427.

¹⁷ Charles A. Gulick, *Austria from Hapsburg to Hitler* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1948), Vol. II, pp. 1757-1758; George Messersmith's affidavit, *N.C.A.*, Vol. IV, pp. 305-325.

¹⁸ Memorandum of Weizaecker, July 12, 1937, *D.G.F.P.*, Vol. I, pp. 445-447.

Austrian people who lived in the mountainous border regions could be improved only by a closer economic union with Germany, as embodied in the July 11 Agreement.

When von Papen saw Schmidt at Salzburg on August 16 and again on the thirty-first, he also returned to the attack, denouncing the Austrian government for its hostile attitude toward recent demonstrations by Austrian Nazis. These demonstrations were not anti-Austrian, the Ambassador explained, but only "expressions of sympathy for the land of common origin and the Fuehrer," hence legitimate under the terms of the July 11 Agreement. The Chancellor argued that the leaders of the Reich considered the absorption of Austria into Germany as an immediate task and were exerting influences on the Austrian Nazis by supplying them with funds; Austria, he said, would never have an anti-German foreign policy. Von Papen dismissed Schuschnigg's remarks as "negative replies."¹⁹

Late in 1937, Schuschnigg tried to extract Austria from the coils of the July 11 Agreement, which was slowly destroying Austrian independence. In hopes of equalizing Austro-German relations he vainly sought help from Austria's neighbors in eastern Europe.²⁰ A mixture of hatred of Austria and fear of Germany prevented a unified response.

Austria's groping for security was not overlooked in Berlin. Since June, 1937, *Case Otto*—the military plans for an invasion of Austria—had been the subject of staff work. On November 5, 1937, Hitler informed his lieutenants of his future plans for obtaining living space in eastern Europe; they included the absorption of Austria.²¹

The pressure on Schuschnigg continued. Propaganda from the Reich flooded Austria. Late in January, 1938, another police raid on the headquarters of the Nazi party in Vienna disclosed incriminating documents. At a prearranged signal the Austrian Nazis would provoke the Austrian government to deploy troops. Berlin would then deliver an ultimatum demanding the incorporation of the Nazis into the government and dispersal of the Austrian troops. If the ultimatum was accepted, Austrian Nazis would complete the July 11 Agreement by taking over Austria from within. If the ultimatum was refused, the German Army would march, for Austria would have broken a treaty—the July 11 Agreement. This was the substance of the Taevs Plan found in the raid, which, if published, could embarrass the German government. Still in hopes of placating the Nazis and maintaining

¹⁹ Memorandum of Neurath, August 10, 1937; von Papen to Neurath, August 21, September 1, 1937, *ibid.*, pp. 445-447, 451-452, 454-458.

²⁰ Stein to Foreign Ministry, September 30, October 7, October 14, October 22, 1937; Hassell to Foreign Ministry, November 5, 1937, *ibid.*, pp. 460-462, 467-469, 472-475, 478-479.

²¹ Hossbach memorandum, November 10, 1937, *ibid.*, pp. 29-39.

the July 11 Agreement, Schuschnigg refrained from releasing the story to the press.²²

Nevertheless, Schuschnigg had not been a slave to the July 11 Agreement, and a brash stroke was needed to compel his implicit obedience. In January, 1938, von Papen brought an invitation from the Fuehrer for Schuschnigg to come to Berlin for a discussion of the misunderstandings. Schuschnigg agreed to accept the invitation and examine the troubles over the July 11 Agreement if three conditions were met: (1) Hitler would extend a formal invitation, (2) Schuschnigg would receive full information on the agenda and assurances that the July 11 Agreement would be maintained, and (3) Hitler would agree in advance on a communique which would reiterate that the July 11 Agreement was in full force. The conditions were accepted.²³ Schuschnigg had no alternative, for Austria was without help from abroad, and the confiscated Taevs Plan had underlined the immediate peril.

In an effort to sweeten the visit, Schuschnigg early in February accepted a program proposed by Seyss-Inquart which opened the prison gates for all Austrian Nazis, permitted the infiltration of all Austrian organizations by Nazis, and gave Seyss-Inquart more power.²⁴

On February 12, 1938, Schuschnigg went to Berchtesgaden, hoping to smooth out difficulties which had arisen over the July 11 Agreement. For two hours Hitler ranted and raved, threatening the destruction of Austria. The Austrian chancellor tried to keep the conversation on the subject of the July 11 Agreement but his efforts were overborne. At last the reason of the meeting was unmasked: a protocol which would broaden the July 11 Agreement. Cut off from all support, Schuschnigg signed.

The protocol was an enlargement of the July 11 Agreement: Austria would consult with Germany over foreign policy and would furnish diplomatic support. Seyss-Inquart would become minister of the interior. Discrimination against the Nazis in military affairs, the economy, public welfare, education, and social insurance would cease. Complete freedom would be granted to the Austrian Nazis for legal activity within the Fatherland Front and all other Austrian organizations.²⁵

The protocol completed the job begun in July, 1936, and made Austria a

²² Von Papen to Foreign Ministry, January 8, 27, 1937; Stein to Foreign Ministry, January 29, 1938; memorandum of Neurath, January 29, 1938, *ibid.*, pp. 490-491, 493-497; Schuschnigg affidavit, *N.C.A.*, Vol. V, pp. 703-708.

²³ Schuschnigg affidavit, *ibid.*, pp. 709-712.

²⁴ Keppler to Neurath, February 2, 1938; Keppler to von Ribbentrop, February 9, 1938, *D.G.F.P.*, Vol. I, pp. 497-498, 500-502.

²⁵ Schuschnigg affidavit, November 19, 1945, *N.C.A.*, Vol. V, pp. 709-712; Kurt von Schuschnigg, *Austrian Requiem* (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1946), pp. 11-27; protocol of the conference of February 12, 1938, *D.G.F.P.*, Vol. I, pp. 515-517.

satellite. Nazi pressure exercised through the July 11 Agreement had brought Schuschnigg to Berchtesgaden and the protocol. Had he not signed both the original document and the protocol, many would have condemned him for risking a war. The practitioners of appeasement would have condemned him for not seeking every means of peace.

The remainder of the story is well known: the decision of Schuschnigg to grasp the initiative with a plebiscite, German threat of war unless the plebiscite was abandoned and Schuschnigg resign, and finally Schuschnigg's resignation, followed by the entry of Nazi troops.

Had Schuschnigg not attempted the plebiscite, Seyss-Inquart as minister of the interior would probably have succeeded in making the Austrian Nazis powerful enough to overthrow the Schuschnigg government. The plebiscite was an attempt to break out of the July 11 Agreement and it forced Hitler to use troops. He knew that Britain, France, and Italy would not interfere because they had already written off Austria.

Without ordering a single soldier to cross the frontier, Hitler made Austria a satellite. The *Anschluss* in March, 1938, completed the task begun with the signing of the July 11 Agreement.

Adequacy of the Aid-to-Dependent-Children Program

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THE OKLAHOMA DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WELFARE in 1954 described the immediate goal of all its public-assistance programs as follows: "The purpose of the assistance programs is to supplement inadequate income and resources of certain types of needy persons, so that distress and suffering may be prevented and so that these persons may be assured of having enough money to meet their minimum needs."¹ With more specific reference to the Aid-to-Dependent-Children (ADC) program, the aid given is designed to lend dignity and self-respect to the recipients. The monthly grants permit the dependent children to grow up in a home where there are family ties and a resulting close bond of affection. The benefits are an attempt not only to provide sufficient economic resources for the family but to encourage education as well. Above all, the ultimate goal is to give the child an opportunity to develop to the maximum his potentialities for contributing more fully to his own life as well as to the community. The purpose of this paper is to determine whether the ADC program has attained these goals. The study, made in June, 1956, was restricted to the recipients of ADC benefits in Cleveland County, Oklahoma.

Cleveland County lies in central Oklahoma, just south of Oklahoma City. In 1955, it had an estimated population of 43,461, which included more than 10,000 students attending the University of Oklahoma. Norman, the county seat and home of the University of Oklahoma, had a population of 35,969, including the University students, in 1955. There were several smaller towns in Cleveland County, none of which had a population in excess of 1,600.² The per capita income of the county in 1955 was \$1,046,³ compared with \$1,506 as the state average and \$1,847 as the national average.⁴ The Cleveland County average was reduced considerably because the

¹ *Annual Report of the Oklahoma Department of Public Welfare for the Year Ending June 30, 1954* (Oklahoma City, Division of Research and Statistics, 1954), p. 2.

² Information from the Bureau of Business Research, University of Oklahoma.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Survey of Current Business*, U.S. Department of Commerce, (August, 1956), Table I, p. 10.

University students were included in the population of this county. In June, 1956, the case load for all types of assistance in Cleveland County was quite low, being the third lowest of the seventy-seven counties in the state. Strict screening of applicants plus job opportunities at the University of Oklahoma and the state mental hospital are responsible for its favorable position.

In June, 1956, there were in Cleveland County sixty-nine families with 195 children receiving aid through the ADC program. The average grant was \$87.44 per month,⁵ a figure somewhat higher than the state average of \$81.94 but lower than the national average of \$89.27.⁶ Cleveland County's benefits per family were higher than the state average because of the larger number of children per family there than in the rest of the state. In Cleveland County about four people per family were living on this grant—three children and a homemaker. In some cases a disabled father and aged grandparents were supported from the ADC grants also.

Percentages showing the causes of dependency in Cleveland County varied somewhat from those of the state as a whole. Incapacity of the father accounted for the dependency in 38 per cent of its cases as compared with 31 per cent for the state. Divorce or legal separation was responsible for another 25 per cent of its cases, as compared with 17 per cent for the state. The figures showing the death of the father or desertion were almost identical for both county and state. However, whereas only 7 per cent of the case load in Cleveland County was due to illegitimate children, the corresponding figure for the state was 19 per cent.⁷

Data were obtained from fifty-one families on the amount of money spent on food per month per person. These figures are shown in Table 1.

The per capita expenditure for food by ADC beneficiaries in Cleveland County was slightly above one-half that for the nation as a whole. These figures show that Cleveland County ADC recipients obviously did not eat nearly so well as the average American.

Since so large a proportion of ADC money was spent for food, it is obvious that what was left was insufficient to provide shelter, clothing, medical care, and other basic needs. We attempted to measure these other deficiencies statistically. Of fifty-four families interviewed, twenty owned their homes or were in the process of buying them, and thirty-four were renting places to live, the rentals averaging \$28 per month. Many deficiencies were noted. Of the homes, 70 per cent were in need of major repair, and 67 per

⁵ Information from the Cleveland County Department of Public Welfare.

⁶ *Social Security Bulletin*, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (September, 1956), Table 14, p. 35.

⁷ Data from Cleveland County Department of Public Health and "Characteristics of Families Receiving Aid to Dependent Children," U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Biennial Release (Washington, Division of Program Statistics and Analysis, 1953), p. 15.

cent were more than thirty years old. Four- and five-room homes were the most common, but two- and three-room ones were almost as prevalent. There was about the same number of homes with more than six rooms as there was with one room. If more than 1.5 persons per room is considered as overcrowded (six persons for four rooms), then 34 per cent of the recipients were living in overcrowded housing.

TABLE 1

Food Expenditures per Person per Month

| <i>Amount Spent per Month per Person for Food</i> | <i>Number of Families</i> |
|---|---------------------------|
| \$ 0.00 to \$ 7.50 | 0 |
| 7.50 to 12.50 | 5 |
| 12.50 to 17.50 | 23 |
| 17.50 to 22.50 | 15 |
| 22.50 to 27.50 | 6 |
| 27.50 to 32.50 | 2 |
| over 32.50 | 0 |

Of the fifty-four homes, eighteen had no indoor toilet facilities; and two other families shared a toilet with another family. Only three of the families living in open country had indoor plumbing, and two families living within the corporate boundaries of Norman lacked such facilities also. Three of the rural families had no facilities of any kind for water, even from outside wells.

Since practically all ADC money was spent for food and shelter, the beneficiaries were particularly deficient in other necessities, lack of clothing being one of their most pressing problems. Virtually every family specifically mentioned this item as one of their greatest needs. Tables 2 and 3 show the number of selected clothing items owned by school-age boys and girls. With more than half the boys and almost half the girls lacking a winter overcoat, and with about 10 per cent lacking both underwear and socks, clearly serious deficiencies are shown here.

Another important group of items necessary for a family's comfort is home furnishings. In many of the families, bed covering was scarce; in some of the larger families, even beds were scarce. For instance, there were two families with six members each who owned only one bed. An average of three persons per bed was reported for all families. Two families with seven members each had no sheets of any kind.

Dental care is evidently too expensive a commodity for dependent children to receive, for only 27 per cent of the children had been examined or

TABLE 2

Number of Selected Clothing Items Owned by School-age Boys

| Item | Number of Items Owned | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------|-----------------------|----|----|----|----|---|---|---|---|------|
| | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | over |
| Hat or cap | 55* | 5* | 2* | 1* | | | | | | |
| Overcoat | 35 | 23 | 4 | 1 | | | | | | |
| Raincoat | 53 | 10 | | | | | | | | |
| Sweaters | 40 | 9 | 6 | 3 | | | 1 | | 1 | |
| Winter trousers | 6 | 2 | 17 | 10 | 8 | 6 | 3 | 4 | 3 | 4 |
| Winter shirts | 5 | 2 | 12 | 13 | 17 | 2 | 6 | 2 | 2 | 3 |
| Sets of underwear | 7 | 5 | 11 | 19 | 5 | 6 | 6 | 1 | | 3 |
| Socks | 5 | 5 | 15 | 15 | 11 | 3 | 9 | | 1 | 1 |
| Leather shoes | 3 | 59 | | | | | | | | |
| Tennis shoes | 39 | 22 | 2 | | | | | | | |
| Gloves | 56 | 7 | | | | | | | | |
| Bathing trunks | 41 | 21 | 1 | | | | | | | |

* These figures show the number of boys owning each item.

TABLE 3

Number of Selected Clothing Items Owned by School-age Girls

| Item | Number of Items Owned | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------|-----|----|----|----|---|----|---|--------|
| | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 over |
| Hat or scarfs | 35* | 15* | 4* | 3* | | | 1* | | |
| Heavy coat | 26 | 27 | 5 | | | | | | |
| Raincoat | 50 | 8 | | | | | | | |
| Sweaters | 28 | 2 | 7 | 11 | 3 | 4 | 2 | 1 | |
| Winter dresses | 23 | 1 | 6 | 9 | 7 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Winter blouses | 13 | 1 | 12 | 7 | 7 | 6 | 1 | 2 | 7 |
| Winter skirts | 8 | 3 | 13 | 8 | 10 | 4 | 7 | | 3 |
| Sets of underwear | 7 | 1 | 10 | 17 | 5 | 1 | 8 | 1 | 3 |
| Socks or anklets | 16 | 6 | 12 | 5 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 1 |
| Leather shoes | 18 | 35 | 4 | 1 | | | | | |
| Fabric shoes | 42 | 14 | | 2 | | | | | |
| Gloves | 34 | 19 | 5 | | | | | | |
| Bathing suits | 42 | 12 | | | | | | | |

* These figures show the number of girls owning each item.

treated by a dentist in the past year. In Norman 47 per cent of the children had received some type of dental examination or treatment during the year through the dental-care program launched in the public schools there. That the dependent children in the small communities and open country receive little dental care may be seen by the fact that 57 per cent of the children in these areas had never been to a dentist in their entire lives.⁸

⁸ Of the children receiving ADC benefits, 65 per cent lived either in the country or in the several small communities. The other 35 per cent lived in Norman.

The extent to which medical care was lacking also is indicated by the fact that 42 per cent of the children had never had a small-pox vaccination. Only 12 per cent of the ADC families had any type of health-insurance policy. A number of children complained about untreated symptoms, the bulk of which were sight and hearing difficulties. Some medical treatment is provided welfare recipients through the hospital run by the University of Oklahoma at Oklahoma City, though the hospital is able to care for only a fraction of the needy patients. On occasion, the County Commissioners may provide aid also.

Thirteen of the families had received ADC aid continuously for the preceding five years. Quite clearly the ADC program did not enable the children in it to become educated properly. In the majority of these families, the children stopped school by the time they were fifteen and completed no more than the seventh grade. In the individual case studies made of these thirteen families, it was not unusual for the children to have finished no more than the fourth or fifth grade. This was especially true for the families living in the country, where the kind of work which children are allowed to perform is more readily available and where compulsory-attendance laws are less strictly enforced. Of the thirteen families, children in six of them had serious educational deficiencies; that is, several of the children had failed to be promoted, and others had stopped school before completing grade school. In many cases, the retardation in school was a result of poor attendance which, in turn, was the result of the children's working; in some cases, it stemmed from an unhealthy family environment. Unfortunately, too little money is appropriated in the state of Oklahoma to provide for any aid to these children through case work. The Department of Public Welfare is equipped only to screen applicants; it gives no further aid.

In summary, our findings were that the amount granted ADC beneficiaries was insufficient to provide for their basic needs. Expenditures for food were substantially below national averages. Most of the homes were in need of major repair. Overcrowded conditions were prevalent. Toilet facilities were lacking in many instances, and in a few there were no facilities whatever for water. One of the most serious shortcomings was the lack of clothing for the children. Also lacking were most types of home furnishings, such as beds, tables, chairs, and bed sheets. Medical and dental care was insufficient. Finally, many of the children were behind in school because of irregular attendance due to their working and many dropped out of school too soon. Potentialities for the good life were not being developed to the maximum. A re-evaluation of the ADC program is in order to determine what type of rejuvenation of the program is needed to eradicate these weaknesses.

The New Suburban Voter: A Case Study in Electoral Behavior

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ONE OF THE MOST STRIKING ASPECTS of the past two Presidential elections is the extent to which suburban areas contributed to Republican majorities in industrial states such as New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, and California. These little-examined areas of electoral behavior are producing Republican majorities which, along with dwindling Democratic urban majorities, bid fair to make a state like New York constantly Republican.

This is in spite of the fact that the Republicans' share of suburban votes has not increased and that, compared with the years of Republican victories in the 1920's, their share has decreased in some suburban counties. Table 1 gives the figures for the Republican percentage of the two-party vote in New York City's three suburban counties and in the suburban area of Monroe County, New York (Rochester), the county where this study was made. Thus the political significance of the suburban counties today lies not in their increasing Republican voting but in their dramatic population growth. Fur-

TABLE 1

Republican Percentage of the Two-Party Vote in the 1920 and 1952 Presidential Elections in Four New York Suburban Counties

| Area | Year | |
|-------------------------------------|------------|------|
| | 1920 | 1952 |
| | Percentage | |
| Nassau County | 79.4 | 70.1 |
| Suffolk County | 75.1 | 74.8 |
| Westchester County | 63.1 | 67.7 |
| Monroe County (excluding Rochester) | 76.7 | 70.0 |

Source: Statistics for 1920 for Nassau, Suffolk, and Westchester counties based on election data in Edgar Eugene Robinson, *The Presidential Vote: 1896-1932* (Stanford University Press, 1934); those for 1952 based on data in Richard M. Scammon, *America Votes* (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1956). Statistics for Monroe County based on Monroe County Board of Election Commissioners, *Official Canvass*, 1920 and 1952. The 1952 vote for Stevenson on the Liberal party ticket has been included in the Democratic total.

ther, this is reflected in the fact that the suburban share of state-wide Republican pluralities has risen sharply. Table 2 gives these statistics for the areas just mentioned.

Samuel Lubell, one of the few who have commented on this phenomenon, states that "close to half of Eisenhower's total plurality [in 1952] in Illinois, Pennsylvania and New York State was furnished by suburbs around Chicago, Philadelphia and New York City."¹

TABLE 2

Four Suburban Counties' Share of the 1920 and 1952 Presidential Vote and Share of Republican Pluralities

| Area | Year | |
|---|------------|------|
| | 1920 | 1952 |
| | Percentage | |
| Total state vote in Nassau, Westchester, and Suffolk counties | 6.6 | 13.3 |
| Total Monroe County vote (Rochester excluded) | 20.0 | 36.2 |
| State Republican plurality of Nassau, Westchester, and Suffolk counties | 8.3 | 44.6 |
| Monroe County Republican plurality (Rochester excluded) | 24.1 | 81.1 |

Source: Statistics based upon election data cited in Table 1.

Hypotheses of the Investigation

The suburb's growing political importance clearly depends upon its new arrivals. Two possible hypotheses may explain the political behavior of these new residents: (1) The new arrivals tended to be Democratic while living in the city but changed, after moving, in response to new environmental influences. (2) These persons either already had changed, or would have changed even if they had remained in their urban environments. Hypothesis 1 could be stated in the following premises:

A. The majority of persons moving into the suburbs are from the central city. Since the majority in the city have been voting consistently Democratic in national elections for twenty years or more, it may be assumed that the majority of those making the move are Democrats by affiliation and by tendency.

B. When the newcomers arrive in the suburbs, a change in their political thinking takes place. The majority drop their previous Democratic allegiance and register Republican, as do their neighbors. Their voting patterns change, becoming similar to those who already live in the suburbs.

¹ *Revolt of the Moderates* (New York, Harper & Brothers, 1956), p. 112.

C. This defection may be explained by environmental influences, the desire to conform to the new middle-class respectability, the fact of home ownership with consequent property taxes, and possibly by the influence of already-existing strong Republican party organizations.

Hypothesis 2 could be framed in these premises:

A. The move to the suburbs is, in part, a selective one. That is, those persons making the move tend to be those who have already arrived at middle-class respectability, have already contemplated home ownership, and already think of themselves as having a status different from their previous one.

B. The change to Republican voting from Democratic voting, then, depends not so much on the move to the suburbs as upon these other and prior changes in socio-economic status. The move to the suburbs may coincide with these other changes, or it may come after them. But the move is not the crucial factor. These individuals would have voted Republican whether they became suburbanites or not.

C. The suburb is thus a concentration of a socio-economic group that tends to vote a heavy Republican majority. The environment may reinforce any changes made, tend to prevent conflicts between the new status and that of surrounding peer groups, and thus tend to foster a higher degree of participation in the election than might have been the case if the persons had remained in the city.

Few have speculated on these possible hypotheses. Of those who have, Louis Harris states most nearly the sum of the first:

Politically, during the war and before they left their city homes, the majority of these people were Democrats. They had been raised during the depression, the sons of the underprivileged, and a new voter's salvation in 1936 or maybe even as late as 1940 lay in voting for Roosevelt and the New Deal. Out in the suburbs and in the new middle-income housing projects of the city, the times had changed and so had the way of living. Politics were now more remote. A man did not change his politics overnight. But neither did he remain so inflexible that he wore his politics on his sleeve.

How was one to fight politically, except to join the modern, enlightened, and moderate wing of the Republican Party? The battle would then be waged within the Republican Party. Who ever heard of the Democrats out in the suburban town? The Democrats were a sometimes party that was not even represented in the local elections. One either had to be terribly courageous or terribly hidebound to go around campaigning for the Democrats.²

Samuel Lubell, on the other hand, contends that suburban voting-behavior is merely one aspect of the division along economic class lines which began

² *Is There a Republican Majority?* (New York, Harper & Brothers, 1954), pp. 121-123.

with the New Deal. Further, because Republican gains from 1948 to 1952 were greater in the cities (in terms of Republican percentage of the two-party vote) than in the suburbs, he maintains that "many of the newer suburbanites whom the G.O.P. won in 1952 would have voted Republican even if they had stayed in the cities,"³ a view consonant with our Hypothesis 2.

Research Design

The research attempting to answer these questions as they relate to the suburbs of Rochester, New York, within Monroe County was conducted during the election campaign of 1956 by students in an undergraduate course in American Party Politics at the University of Rochester. While this procedure necessitated using inexperienced interviewers, the original purpose of the study was in good part pedagogical: to permit undergraduates to gain experience in planning a research design, to learn polling techniques—their possibilities and limitations—and to come closer to practical politics. Twelve students participated in the project and, with guidance from the authors, aided in the research planning, conducted the poll, and discussed the results.

The sample consisted of residents of four areas chosen from two suburban towns of Rochester—Webster and Greece. The town of Webster was, before the Second World War, primarily rural, with but small, scattered sections genuinely suburban. Since the war a mushrooming growth of ranch houses has made more than half the town suburban, bringing with it tensions, particularly concerning zoning regulations. A split in the local Republican organization at the time of the town elections of 1953 resulted in the first local Democratic victory in fifty years. The town of Greece borders the Eastman Kodak main plant and has long been one of the more populous of Rochester suburbs. It has what most local observers subjectively call the "best functioning" Republican organization in the county; the Democrats have difficulty in putting up a complete slate of local candidates.

In each town two areas were selected, one consisting of homes built before the Second World War and the other of homes built since 1952. This provided us with two areas of relatively well-established residents for comparison with two in which every resident had had to move in since the 1952 Presidential election. Attempts were made to obtain areas with roughly similar housing, though this was difficult. The "old" area in Webster was a portion of the Village of Webster, which included some small-town types of residences. The newer area of Webster was primarily of prefabricated homes and was of a lower income-level than any that could be found in Greece.

Utilizing the level of educational attainment as one criterion of socio-economic level, we found that three of the four areas were roughly equivalent,

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 113–114.

whereas figures for New Webster show a significantly greater-than-chance difference in those achieving college or postgraduate status. Table 3 shows this. It will therefore be assumed that this one area represents a significantly lower socio-economic level.

TABLE 3

Educational Attainment of Respondents in Four Monroe County Suburban Areas

| Area | Respondents with No College Education | | Respondents with One or More Years of College | |
|-------------|--|------------|--|------------|
| | Number | Percentage | Number | Percentage |
| New, Greece | 41 | 44.0 | 65 | 56.0 |
| Old Greece | 49 | 39.4 | 75 | 60.6 |
| New Webster | 84 | 77.1 | 25 | 22.9 |
| Old Webster | 48 | 46.6 | 55 | 53.4 |

Test of Significance

To determine whether the relationship between the distribution in New Webster and the distribution in the total of the other three areas is a statistically significant one, the chi square (χ^2) test was used. For all tests in this study, we accepted the 5 per cent level of probability as the standard of significance. That is, when $p = <.05$, the chances are five or less in one hundred that the relationship is one of chance in sampling.

Within each of the four areas the interviewers used an area-saturation sample. No attempt was made to sort out individuals living within the confines of the areas selected; the students merely went up one street and down another. A high degree of co-operation was accorded the pollers, who met with few rejections.

Since the areas were selected because of the length of residency of the respondents, their boundaries coincide with voting-district boundaries in only one instance—that of New Webster. In Greece, the selected areas comprise about two-thirds of their respective voting districts, while the area in Old Webster is a small geographical portion of what is otherwise primarily a rural area.

In New Webster—the one area coincident with its voting district—there were 109 respondents and 459 persons actually voting for President in the election of 1956. Of the respondents stating a choice for President, 73.8 per cent named Eisenhower. This compares with 65.0 per cent of the voting district who actually voted for him. In our entire New Webster sample, 17.4 per cent were undecided; 60.6 per cent chose Eisenhower; and 22 per cent Stevenson.

Thus, either the New Webster sample indicated an overreporting for the Republican candidate, or an unusually high proportion of the undecided

voted for Stevenson. Overreporting might be explained by a reluctance to announce a Democratic preference in an area known for its Republican proclivities. It is also possible that those few rejections encountered by the interviewers were from persons with Democratic leaning.⁴ One other factor might account for an overreporting for Republican candidates. In two of the four areas sampled, the number of female respondents was higher than the number of male, as shown in Table 4. In our over-all sample, women reported preferences for Eisenhower of 79 per cent, with 6.8 per cent undecided; 73.2 per cent of the men favored Eisenhower, with 9.1 per cent undecided. It should also be noted that the number of female respondents was unusually high in New Greece.

TABLE 4

Percentage of Male and Female Respondents in Each of Four Monroe County Suburban Areas

| <i>Areas</i> | <i>Male Respondents</i> | <i>Female Respondents</i> |
|--------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| New Greece | 31.0 | 69.0 |
| Old Greece | 50.8 | 49.2 |
| New Webster | 43.1 | 56.9 |
| Old Webster | 52.2 | 47.8 |

Respondents were asked how they voted in the Presidential elections of 1948 and 1952, the New York senatorial election of 1950, and the New York gubernatorial election of 1954. In addition, each reported his preference in the Presidential and senatorial elections of 1956 (Table 5). The interviewing was done between ten and twenty days before the date of the election itself, and thus before the Near East crisis over the Suez Canal. Respondents in the old areas indicated whether they had lived in the area for more than four years or less than four years, and respondents in the new areas reported where they had lived before moving to the suburbs. Because of the purposes of this survey, respondents moving into the old areas during the last four years are omitted from the figures in Table 6, and those moving into the new areas from other suburbs, or locations outside Monroe County and hence unclassifiable by urban, rural, or suburban status, are omitted in Table 7.⁵

⁴ The Survey Research Center, University of Michigan, reports an overreporting of the Democratic vote in the South. See Angus Campbell, Gerald Gurin, and Warren E. Miller, *The Voter Decides* (Evanston, Ill., Row, Peterson, & Company, 1954), p. 6. Their survey was a reporting *after* the election. They likewise report an overreporting in other areas of the country for a victorious candidate in postelection surveys.

⁵ Of the respondents 13.7 per cent in Old Greece and 7.8 per cent in Old Webster moved into these areas during the four years preceding the survey. Of the respondents 35.8 per cent

The shifts in voting, as reported by respondents, were then studied area by area within the sample. Differences appeared between New Greece and New Webster. None of any significance showed between the two old areas, however; consequently the old areas were grouped together. Thus the significant changes from year to year in each of the two new areas could be compared with each other and also compared with the significant changes in the combined old areas.⁶

Results

Voting trends between 1948 and 1956 in the city of Rochester and Monroe County, as well as in the two towns from which samples were selected, are shown in Table 5. These figures indicate that within the interval the

TABLE 5

Percentage Results of Two-Party* Vote, Selected Elections, in Monroe County, 1948-1956

| Election | Percentage | | | | | | | |
|---------------------|------------|------|---------|------|-----------|------|--|------|
| | Greece | | Webster | | Rochester | | Monroe County (Rochester excluded) | |
| | Rep. | Dem. | Rep. | Dem. | Rep. | Dem. | Rep. | Dem. |
| Presidential, 1948 | 53.5 | 46.5 | 63.9 | 36.1 | 43.7 | 56.3 | 62.7 | 37.3 |
| Senatorial, 1950 | 54.4 | 45.6 | 62.3 | 37.7 | 45.2 | 54.8 | 60.4 | 39.6 |
| Presidential, 1952 | 65.5 | 34.5 | 71.6 | 28.4 | 52.7 | 47.3 | 70.0 | 30.0 |
| Gubernatorial, 1954 | 60.5 | 39.5 | 63.1 | 36.9 | 49.9 | 50.1 | 65.8 | 34.2 |
| Presidential, 1956 | 73.4 | 26.6 | 73.9 | 26.1 | 61.1 | 38.9 | 74.3 | 25.7 |
| Senatorial, 1956 | 59.9 | 40.1 | 63.4 | 36.6 | 51.5 | 48.5 | 64.7 | 35.3 |

* The candidates in the elections were as follows: 1948, Thomas Dewey and Harry Truman; 1950, Joseph Hanley and Herbert Lehman; 1952, Dwight Eisenhower and Adlai Stevenson; 1954, Irving Ives and Averell Harriman; 1956 Presidential, Dwight Eisenhower and Adlai Stevenson; 1956 senatorial, Jacob Javits and Robert Wagner. These elections are the ones referred to Tables 6 and 7. In all cases where Democratic candidates ran on the Liberal party ticket, the Liberal party totals are included in these tables in the Democratic figures.

Republicans in the city gained about nine percentage points in Presidential elections but slipped back in the state-wide elections. But the gains from 1948 to 1952 were never lost entirely. In Monroe County (Rochester excluded) the major switch came between 1950 and 1952, with about half the gain lost in the state-wide elections of 1954 and 1956. Thus there is superficial evidence of a real change in both city and suburban areas, coming at

in New Webster and 46.6 per cent in New Greece moved into these areas from locations other than the city of Rochester.

⁶ Again the chi-square test of significance was utilized to determine the possibilities that changes from voting years would be due to chance in sampling, or to other factors related to the study.

approximately the same time, from 1950 to 1952, coupled with split-ticket voting as personalities and local situations intervened.

The data for the sample are presented in Tables 6 and 7. Since there was little difference between the two old areas, these data are grouped together in Table 6. Significant differences did appear between the two new areas, however, and they are presented separately in Table 7.

TABLE 6

Voting and Voting Preferences in Old Suburban Areas

| Party | Number of Respondents and Their Choices in Elections* | | | | | |
|------------|---|------|------|------|---------|---------|
| | 1948 | 1950 | 1952 | 1954 | 1956(P) | 1956(S) |
| Republican | 142 | 113 | 176 | 153 | 170 | 129 |
| Democratic | 42 | 51 | 17 | 36 | 22 | 38 |

| Test of Significance | | |
|----------------------------------|-----------------|------------|
| Relationship | χ^2 | p |
| Old areas, 1948 and 1950 | Not significant | |
| Old areas, 1950 and 1952 | 30.02 | <.001 |
| Old areas, 1948 and 1952 | 12.92 | <.001 |
| Old areas, 1952 and 1954 | 7.54 | <.01 >.001 |
| Old areas, 1954 and 1956 (P) | 3.68 | <.10 >.05 |
| Old areas, 1952 and 1956 (P) | Not significant | |
| Old areas, 1954 and 1956 (s) | Not significant | |
| Old areas, 1956 (P) and 1956 (s) | 7.39 | <.01 >.001 |

* The elections are the same as those listed in Table 5.

In the old areas (Table 6), the most significant change came between 1950 and 1952, since there is less than one chance in a thousand that the difference in voting in these years is due to chances in sampling. In all these years, as anticipated, the Republicans had large majorities. A slight increase in Democratic choices from 1952 to 1954 causes a change in the proportion of Republicans to Democrats from eleven to one to five to one. Thus the change from 1952 to 1954 shows as a significant one, also, even though the general pattern of Republican voting is maintained.

In the two new areas (Table 7), the change from 1948 to 1952, both Presidential years, is a significant one, but New Webster shows a greater number of significant changes, election year to election year. Furthermore, New Webster's most significant change comes in the two-year period 1950-1952. It should be noted that changes up to 1952 took place before these persons moved to the suburbs, for these were areas in which there were no houses until 1953-1956. All persons for whom data is given stated that they had moved directly from the city of Rochester.

New Webster presents a real difference from any of the other areas in its change to a Democratic majority in the gubernatorial election of 1954 and

TABLE 7

Voting and Voting Preferences in New Suburban Areas

| Number of Respondents and Their Choices in Elections* | | | | | | |
|---|------|------|------|------|---------|---------|
| Party | 1948 | 1950 | 1952 | 1954 | 1956(P) | 1956(S) |
| New Webster | | | | | | |
| Republican | 18 | 15 | 46 | 23 | 44 | 25 |
| Democratic | 29 | 30 | 16 | 32 | 16 | 23 |
| New Greece | | | | | | |
| Republican | 17 | 19 | 40 | 31 | 49 | 31 |
| Democratic | 20 | 13 | 11 | 13 | 10 | 18 |

| Test of Significance | | | |
|------------------------------------|-----------------|-------|-------|
| Relationship | χ^2 | p | |
| New Webster, 1948 and 1950 | Not significant | | |
| New Webster, 1950 and 1952 | 19.43 | <.001 | |
| New Webster, 1948 and 1952 | 12.51 | <.001 | |
| New Webster, 1952 and 1954 | 10.26 | <.01 | >.001 |
| New Webster, 1954 and 1956 (P) | 9.42 | <.01 | >.001 |
| New Webster, 1952 and 1956 (P) | Not significant | | |
| New Webster, 1954 and 1956 (s) | Not significant | | |
| New Webster, 1956 (P) and 1956 (s) | 4.33 | <.05 | >.02 |
| New Greece, 1948 and 1950 | Not significant | | |
| New Greece, 1950 and 1952 | 4.47 | <.05 | >.02 |
| New Greece, 1948 and 1952 | 8.54 | <.01 | >.001 |
| New Greece, 1952 and 1954 | Not significant | | |
| New Greece, 1954 and 1956 (P) | Not significant | | |
| New Greece, 1952 and 1956 (P) | Not significant | | |
| New Greece, 1954 and 1956 (s) | Not significant | | |
| New Greece, 1956 (P) and 1956 (s) | 4.47 | <.05 | >.02 |

* The elections are the same as those listed in Table 5.

in the closeness of the vote for senator in 1956. But even here some Democratic defection is clearly visible, and the most significant change came before these persons moved to the suburbs.

In all areas a significant degree of split-ticket voting occurred in 1956, when Javits ran behind Eisenhower. This trend, which was state-wide, shows in the general figures for the entire county (see Table 5) as well as in the samples. Again, the defection in the Democratic totals is evident.

Conclusions

This survey covers only two suburban towns in one county in New York State and cannot, therefore, necessarily be assumed to be representative of suburban voting nationally. From our knowledge of Monroe County, these suburbs appear to be representative of that county, and there are no reasons for presuming them to be so different that the results obtained from them would be distorted for other suburban portions of the county.

No evidence from this survey supports the often cited hypothesis that voting behavior changes with a move to the suburbs. Such evidence as is presented here lends weight to Hypothesis 2 listed above—that the move to the suburbs is not the crucial factor involved in voting changes. Those persons who changed did so without the move, and the assumption appears warranted that they would have continued to vote Republican (at least for President) whether they had moved or not. The changes in voting behavior which appear statistically most significant occurred in all suburban areas from 1950 to 1952, reaching their culmination during the first Eisenhower campaign, with its charges of "communism, Korea, and corruption." These changes also occurred within the city of Rochester during the same period and, more important, in the respondents who moved from the city to the suburbs after the first Eisenhower election.

Interestingly, the socio-economic differences in New Webster continue to make some difference in voting even after these respondents moved to the rows of ranch houses. The often noted phenomenon of lower socio-economic classes tending to vote Democratic appears to be still at work in our respondents. No conclusive evidence of conflict between suburban status and lower socio-economic status appeared, as there was no statistically significant difference in the "Undecideds" in New Webster from the "Undecideds" in other areas. However, since the number of "Undecideds" was higher in New Webster, particularly in the 1956 senatorial race, even though that might be due to chances in sampling, there could be a reasonable presumption of some conflict.

Since the usual assumption concerning the importance of suburban residence in changing political behavior is challenged in this study, it would be profitable if a more extensive analysis of this phenomenon could be made. The suburbs include an increasing proportion of the nation's population, and the question of whether suburbs are an environmental influence as such, or whether they represent a concentration of other homogeneous factors, such as class status, becomes an increasingly important one for an understanding of American voting behavior.

The Fine Art of Parliamentary Sabotage

J. L. BOONE ATKINSON

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FREQUENTLY we read that the French Communists, particularly after May, 1947, engaged in consistent and violent obstruction in the French Parliament. Yet scarcely anywhere does one find an explanation of just how the Communist parliamentarians went about their efforts, or of the counter-measures employed by the embattled non-Communist majority.

Ousted from the cabinet in May, 1947, the Communists abandoned their former policy of co-operation and engineered a series of strikes and acts of sabotage. The situation became so serious that the Schuman government decided to take strong measures in the form of more severe penalties against sabotage, along with a callup of 80,000 reservists in the struggle against civil disorder. The bill calling up the reservists was placed before the Assembly by the committee at 10:30 A.M. on November 29.¹

When the government asked that the bill be considered under the procedure of Urgent Discussion, the Communists began their counterattack with one of their most effective weapons of delay: the time-consuming voting procedure known as Open Ballot at the Tribune, originally intended to lend added dignity to solemn occasions and requiring well over an hour to complete. Under the rules as they existed at the beginning of the debate, this procedure became obligatory on the petition of any fifty deputies. The Communists demanded a tribune vote on the question of Urgent Discussion. Urgent Discussion having carried, they then demanded and received a tribune vote on a Communist proposal for a two-hour suspension. Losing again, but with scarcely a pause for breath, the Communists obtained a tribune vote on a motion of the Previous Question.

Since the Communists plainly were determined to use every parliamentary excuse to employ the Open Ballot at the Tribune, the non-Communist majority were forced to delay the main question in order to amend the Standing

¹ For the entire debate, see *Journal Officiel, Annales de l'Assemblée Nationale, Débats* (sess. of November 29, 1947), Vol. VIII, pp. 5245-5302.

Orders so as to restrict the use of the tribune vote. It was a detour, but an essential one.

Over Communist opposition, Urgent Discussion of the motion to amend the Standing Orders was adopted by tribune vote. The uninitiated might think that at last the business of the Assembly could proceed. If he did, he would underestimate Communist ingenuity, for they immediately moved the Previous Question, speaking at some length. This motion, too, had to be rejected by a tribune vote.

At last the Chair could lead the deputies to consideration of the proposal to amend the Standing Orders. After further Communist skirmishing, the president read the single article of the proposed amendment to Article 83.² In the meantime, the Communists had proposed an amendment to the amendment,³ which completely changed the meaning of the original amendment. The Communist party, having 150 members, could request three tribune votes, whereas the intention had been to place a limitation of one per group during the same debate. The despairing cry of "You mock Parliament!" greeted the Communist demand that their amendment to the original amendment be voted on at the tribune.

The majority decided to fight fire with fire. Since the rules provided that amendments must be considered first, and therefore the Communist amendment would be considered before the initial amendment, thereby causing another lengthy delay, a non-Communist deputy presented a subamendment to the Communist amendment.⁴ Amidst vehement Communist protests, the president ruled that since subamendments take priority over amendments, the subamendment would be voted on first. Jacques Duclos, Communist parliamentary leader, requested tribune votes on both. The non-Communist subamendment having been adopted, the Chair announced, above loud Communist objections, that the adoption of the subamendment voided the Communist amendment.

Rolling with the punch, the Communists immediately offered another amendment, adding to the adopted amendment a second paragraph which assured those groups numbering less than 150 the opportunity to request a tribune vote. Much to Communist chagrin, and amid general laughter, the president announced adoption of the amendment since there was no opposition. The Communists were placed in the somewhat absurd position one finds himself in when he applies all his force against an unlatched door. But

² "The Open Ballot at the Tribune can be requested only one time by the deputies belonging to or allied to the same group in the course of the same legislative discussion."—*Ibid.*, pp. 5260–5261.

³ "The Open Ballot at the Tribune can be requested only once by fifty deputies belonging to or allied to the same group in the course of the same debate."—*Ibid.*, p. 5264.

⁴ "The Open Ballot at the Tribune can be requested only once by 150 deputies belonging to or allied to the same group in the course of the same debate."—*Ibid.*

they bowed their collective heads and plowed on as Jacques Duclos engaged in pressing for a tribune vote, despite the complete lack of opposition. After much further delay, the whole resolution for amending the Standing Orders was adopted—by tribune vote at Communist demand.

The long detour accomplished, the Assembly was at last ready to take up the bill under consideration. Limiting the use of the tribune vote had seriously breached the Communist defenses; this became apparent when cloture of the general discussion was voted rapidly. Since they had been deprived of their favorite weapon, the Communists relied on other tactics. As each article of the bill was presented, the Communists immediately offered amendments, accompanied by long speeches, designed both as a time-consumer and as a propaganda sounding-board. After a particularly stormy debate, the Assembly succeeded in stemming the flow of Communist amendments by voting to reject en bloc all amendments.

Other devices were also used as an excuse for extended speeches, including speaking on a Personal Incident far beyond the five minutes permitted by the Standing Orders. As each article of the bill was taken up, the Communists exploited the general discussion to the limit and, when the article was voted on, spoke in explanations of vote. In addition, they made frequent use of Recalls to the Standing Orders on technical points which were usually overruled but, again, only after considerable delay.

At last the game of defense in depth ran out. The Communists were driven back slowly from one rampart to the next until, finally, there was no further redoubt from which the advance could be held up. The whole bill was passed at 9:10 P.M., November 30. After some thirty-five hours of continuous session, the great majority of the Assembly managed to pass half the legislation necessary to the preservation of public order.⁵ An important restraint was placed on future Communist obstruction by the amendment to the Standing Orders permitting only one Open Ballot at the Tribune by each party or group during the same debate. The tribune vote was to be increasingly circumscribed by successive amendments until, in 1952, the procedure was abolished altogether except for the voting on verification of credentials.⁶

This crisis of Communist sabotage both within and outside Parliament also had an important political result. It served as a catalytic agent in bringing about the co-operation of the non-Communist and non-Gaullist parties to prevent the accession to power of either extreme of the political spectrum.

⁵ The second bill was passed, after a violent and exhausting session, on December 4, 1947.

⁶ Philip Williams, *Politics in Post-War France* (London, Longmans, Green & Co., Ltd., 1954), p. 197.

Book Reviews

Edited by

H. MALCOLM MACDONALD

WALTER BERNIS: *Freedom, Virtue and the First Amendment*. Baton Rouge, Louisiana University Press, 1957. 257 pages. \$4.50.

This opinionated and controversial book will and should receive a great deal of criticism. The author presents a thesis which he states in the Preface and pursues throughout the book. The thesis is based upon "a widespread dissatisfaction with the Supreme Court's decisions in First Amendment cases." The trouble arises, he thinks, from the Supreme Court's emphasis on the principle that freedom is the highest value in our constitutional system. He takes the position that there must be limitations on this idea of freedom and that there should be distinctions between "good" and "bad" expressions. "Good" expressions should be protected; "bad" ones should not be tolerated. Judicial review of First Amendment cases is proper, but Bernis believes that it has been improperly exercised because the Court has based its decisions upon faulty theory. The principal fault in the theory has been that freedom of expression is a basic right that has not been limited to accord with what the author considers the principle of virtue. In *Saturday Evening Post* style, he sets up straw men of "liberal" principles, attacks them furiously, and defeats them.

It matters little whether the beliefs he attributes to liberalism are correct.

The problem that makes this thesis completely untenable, of course, is that of determining what is "good," what is "bad," and who shall be the determiner. The author completely evades the responsibility for answering these questions: "The purpose of this study has not been to offer answers to replace the answers of the liberals." He fails to point out that the constant struggle toward the attainment of a free and democratic society has been against the very forces that he endorses. The medieval churchmen could describe the virtuous society and set standards for good and bad. Such an ordered society was based upon concepts of virtue and morality. But Torquemado became the interpreter and the enforcer. Milton's *Areopagitica* was not written in a vacuum but resulted from the censorship of his day, a censorship which protected the good and virtuous truths against attacks from the heretics. Bernis would not like censors like "Herr Goebbels, the tyrant," or "John Winthrop, the bigot," but he shows no practical way to guard against such censors.

The author has done a very detailed and painstaking job of analyzing many decisions of the Supreme Court concerning the First Amendment freedoms. He has examined the various

trends of interpretations and pointed out weaknesses or fallacies in those interpretations. He especially highlights what might be considered injustices which have resulted from a few of the cases. He deplores the fact that Terminiello is given the freedom to speak; he regrets the decisions which allow *Headquarters Detective* magazine to continue publication. He believes that the clear-and-present-danger test has proved to be completely inadequate for the solution of such questions and he derides the attitude of the "libertarian" judges in attempting to apply a preferred position to the First Amendment freedoms. He accuses these judges, unfairly, I think, of standing only for a mechanical freedom which does not represent any values.

I find it difficult to agree that there are no value concepts behind the emphasis on freedom as a fundamental principle of the American constitutional system. The whole concept of freedom is founded on basic values and assumptions of virtue. The concept of a democratic society must rest upon value assumptions. Man is a dignified and a moral creature capable of exercising judgment and discerning right from wrong. Without the basic freedoms of expression guaranteed in our constitutional system, it would be difficult to approach the democratic goal. The liberals will be the first to admit that virtue is desirable and that moral ideals should be instilled in the whole community.

One can agree with the author that the decisions protecting freedom of expression sometime lead to results that the virtuous citizen might regret, but the alternative to freedom is restraint or censorship. It is hard to find illustrations of situations where an overempha-

sis on freedom has led to harmful results. History is replete with illustrations of the evil effects of restraint and censorship. All totalitarian systems establish their concepts of virtue and then judge expressions in the light of their being good or bad expressions.

Berns indicates that the choice is between freedom and virtue and that the two are incompatible. I challenge the idea that they are incompatible. I would suggest instead that community virtue might best be promoted and more nearly attained under freedom than through the establishment of dogmas which represent virtue. At any rate, if we are compelled to make a choice, I choose freedom.

J. William Davis
Texas Technological College

BERTRAND DE JOUVENEL: *Sovereignty: An Inquiry into the Political Good*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1957. 320 pages. \$4.50.

This very thoughtful volume is the sequel to the author's *On Power: Its Future and the History of Its Growth*. The reader is cautioned not to expect a history of the concept of sovereignty. He will find, however, a stimulating treatment of four important problems central to Western political philosophy: authority, the political good, the sovereign, and liberty. In developing his study of these significant questions, De Jovenel gives a valuable analysis of many political writers of the past, in particular Thomas Hobbes and Jean Jacques Rousseau, whose *Le Contrat Social* he edited in 1947.

The author's views on the whole field of political science need to be stated just at this time when "the behavioral

sciences" are in such vogue. He holds that because "the great ambition of the political scientist is to be like other scientists," it follows that "it is the fashion today to neglect the normative approach." In fact, "the moral of this book" is that "political science is a moral science." As a result, when political science forsakes problems like the common good—which involves value judgments—then "all that it has left to do is to compile procedural manuals and commentators' monographs." By contending that "the pre-occupation with justice is the political pre-occupation for excellence," De Jouvenel seems to agree with Lord Acton, who believed that "political science is an affair of conscience rather than might or expediency" and that "the great question is to discover, not what governments prescribe, but what they ought to prescribe."

It is with the dangers of popular sovereignty, however, that this conservative liberal, who belongs to the school of Roepke and Hayek, is most concerned. To De Jouvenel, "the modern absolutism, which we find the most natural thing in the world, would have been quite beyond the dreams of the most absolute of kings." Since Rousseau we have thought that "this authority was formerly in bad hands [the king] and today rests in good hands [the people or the majority], notwithstanding the efforts of men like . . . Constant, Royer-Collard, Guizot and Tocqueville to train the artillery of ideas onto a new arbitrariness." It is to the credit of our author that he points out again for our times that "once the principle of the unchecked and unbounded sovereignty of the human will is admitted, the resulting regime is in substance the same, to whatever person, real or fictive, this

sovereign will is attributed." In short, "there is no remedy in the form of government for the evil caused by the instinct of despotism" in men.

But in his doubts and fears about democratic ideas and developments, democracy *in general*, not as it operates in particular countries, is made out to be the devil. Furthermore, particular conclusions drawn from French democratic experience are not necessarily applicable to Anglo-American democracy. Much of his point of view has, however, been expressed in England by Lord Percy of Newcastle in *The Heresy of Democracy* and in the United States by Walter Lippmann in *The Public Philosophy*.

Nowhere are De Jouvenel's unorthodox views more apparent than in his opinion that "there is a tyranny in the womb of every Utopia" and that "it is impossible to establish a just social order." To our author the pursuit of Utopia is a product of a desire for power, while "justice is a quality, not of social arrangements but of human will."

This book is a veritable mine of penetrating insights into the eternal problem of the balance between liberty and authority.

Guy H. Dodge
Brown University

HANS SPEIER: *German Rearmament and Atomic War*. Evanston, Illinois, Row, Peterson, & Company, 1957. 272 pages. \$5.00.

This excellent study greatly contributes to our ability to consider intelligently one of the principal problems of United States' foreign policy: formulating a strategy for the defense of Eu-

rope in an atomic age. Unless there are radical and unforeseen changes in the nature of NATO, Germany will inevitably have a key role. Speier analyzes the attitude of German military and political leaders toward this role.

According to him, the implications of modern weapons have been only recently and but dimly grasped in Germany. He claims that the Social Democratic Party has conceived of some of the problems of nuclear weapons but has ignored their military significance. The governing coalition, though arriving at sound policy-conclusions, has failed to defend them with realistic arguments, thus leaving their decisions open to doubt and attack. The military, most of whom have supported Adenauer, have apparently appreciated the meaning of the new weapons even less than the civilians. On a mass level the problem of comprehension is magnified manifold, as can be seen from the results of public-opinion surveys contained in the Appendix. Speier asks for a greater understanding of modern war and its implications. While this could not completely eliminate the fear of atomic warfare, presumably it would increase German willingness to accept NATO policies, particularly the necessity for strong local forces.

Present NATO policies, however, do little to counter Soviet "atomic blackmail." Speier is especially perspicacious in the chapter in which he explores the meaning and conditions of "atomic blackmail." Given the growing parity of nuclear striking power between the United States and the Soviet Union, it is highly probable that the "sword" of NATO (the U.S. Strategic Air Command) could be neutralized, and with an inadequate "shield" (local tactical forces) and no nuclear capabilities of

their own, European states could become especially vulnerable to Soviet threats. To prevent this, Speier suggests a broader distribution of strategic nuclear capabilities among the NATO powers.

Much of Speier's analysis concerns the former German military class. The psychological motivations which he advances for some of their opinions are interesting and frequently of extreme insight. He detects several subtle examples of anti-Americanism. He feels that this group learned little from their experiences under the Hitler regime; that they continue to regard themselves primarily as military technicians, indifferent to political issues. Thus their support of Adenauer—his policy and that of the United States—is purely expediential, based upon their analysis of the present distribution of power. They have felt, and continue to feel—though with increasing reservations—that this balance favors the West. Should this balance change, Speier foresees increasing support for a policy of neutralism or of *Realpolitik* among this group and others. It is the distribution of power, he claims, rather than the number of votes won by the Social Democratic Party that is the true key to the strength of neutralism in Germany. While some would give greater weight to individuals and elections than does the author, none could question the significance of his position. The message for the United States is clear.

Harold Karan Jacobson
University of Michigan

JAMES HOWARD: *Big D is for Dallas*.
Austin, Texas, University Co-operative Society, 1957. 170 pages. \$3.25.

Big D is for Dallas is neither journalistic, as the title suggests, nor markedly Texan, though Howard is a Harvard-trained Texan whose meticulous documentation owes much to newspaper sources. The book is what its subtitle promises: Chapters in the Twentieth-Century History of Dallas. The approach is basic—beginning with the geology and geography of the city and its region—and proceeding through an analysis of representative industries and people connected with them at the management level.

The initial chapter on geological and geographical aspects is followed by significant facts from United States censuses: sources of population, numbers of Negroes, occupations and educational levels of breadwinners, and distribution of buying power, to mention a few.

Just as the opening is succinctly factual, concerned with background data in a way that few, if any, other areas of Texas have been explored in a non-technical volume, so is the remainder an objective consideration of the business community of Dallas. The Neiman-Marcus Company's growth is traced without obsequiousness; the First National Bank is considered in a similar manner, with emphasis upon its effect on the financing of oil drilling in Texas—particularly in East Texas. Then the State Fair and *The Dallas Morning News* come under close scrutiny. Throughout, Howard is objective and reserved, blending into his account a report on the human figures who molded, and are molding, the economic and social life of Dallas: Herbert Marcus, Sr.; Mrs. Carrie Neiman; Royal A. Ferris; Nathan Adams; J. Howard Ardrey; Eugene McElvaney; Fred Flor-

ence; E. L. DeGolyer; and G. B. Dealey, among others.

By showing the interworking of banks and oil operators, civic leaders and Fair promoters, Howard has managed to suggest how Dallas citizens have built universities and libraries, fairs and art galleries with a minimum of recourse to formalized committees or appeals to tax-supported agencies. In a word, he shows, without making it his thesis, that private enterprise has accomplished to a remarkable degree what Texans are proudest of in the Dallas community. Withal, his writing is meaty and concise, with a brevity got by narrowing the field; one might wish that he, or someone else, will continue the study of this and other areas of Texas.

The book is copiously annotated, with a bibliography and an index. Oscar Handlin, of Harvard University, wrote the Preface. Mary Sloan, of Corpus Christi, designed the dust jacket.

Vernon E. Lynch
Del Mar College

C. HARVEY GARDINER: *Naval Power in the Conquest of Mexico*. Austin, University of Texas Press, 1956. 253 pages. \$4.95.

According to Mahan, the naval historian, the Battle of Lake Champlain in the American Revolution was "the strife of pygmies for the prize of a continent." One gets a similar general impression from reading C. Harvey Gardiner's *Naval Power in the Conquest of Mexico*. Although the fleet of Cortés on Lake Texcoco consisted of only thirteen very small brigantines, the capital city,

Tenochtitlán, could not have been captured and the conquest of Mexico completed without them. Surrounded by the waters of this lake, the city was inaccessible to successful attack by land forces alone.

The significance of this episode in naval history is clearly stated by the author in this excellent summary: "Uniquely significant in the conquest of Mexico, the naval aspects of the Battle of Tenochtitlán also constitute one of the most extraordinary actions in recorded naval history. In it one sees in kaleidoscopic panorama the sweep of naval history from ancient Salamis to contemporary Korea: ships under sail and oar, ramming, boarding, bombardment, fleet action, task force operations, blockade, liaison duty, marine-like raids by naval landing parties, close support of land operations, and psychological warfare."

There are also some unusual facts connected with the construction of these brigantines. First, they were built near the forests where the timber was cut. Then they were taken apart, carried over mountainous country on the shoulders of the Indian allies, numbering about 10,000 men, and reassembled at Tlaxcala near the lake, which was about 7,500 feet above sea level. The author gives full credit to these natives who joined the Spaniards for this aid and for the later military assistance, without which Cortés could not have conquered Mexico.

This book is certainly a very scholarly work. That it is based on an enormous amount of research is evident. If the book has any defect, it is the lack of unity. Much of the first half has little bearing on naval power as it was employed by Cortés. However, this irrele-

vant material is of great interest in itself, and one can easily understand why the author was tempted to include it. Another defect is the failure to consider adequately the importance of sea power in the Spanish control of the Caribbean during that time. It was this which made possible both the landing of Cortés in Mexico and his receiving reinforcements by hook or by crook, which more than made good his losses.

Charles Lee Lewis
(Professor Emeritus)

United States Naval Academy

CHARLES CARVER: *Brann and the Iconoclast*. Austin, University of Texas Press, 1957. 186 pages. \$3.95.

Roy Bedichek said it was "genuine adventure" to do occasional stenographic work for William Cowper Brann and his booming *Iconoclast*. Bedichek was working then (1896) in a law office upstairs from the controversial newspaper in Waco's Provident Building. Bedichek became, as he states in his Introduction to this work, a partisan.

This is typical. In Waco in that day there was no middle or neutral ground around Brann. You either admired him or despised him. There was little room for fondness (he did have a devoted family and a few staunch friends), for he was an arrogant man, but there was ample room for hate. After years of failure after failure—years as nobody at all—Brann suddenly found himself prominent and successful, a man able to split Waco into two sharply defined factions. You were for him or against him. No middle ground. Even to this day the monument on his grave shows

the depth of the passions Brann sparked. There is a bullet scar on the left temple of his marble likeness.

Brann typified that phenomenon of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the muckraker. And he crossed easily into another journalistic field, plain yellow journalism. He must have been a most unusual man, lovable or hatable depending on whether or not you were a Baptist, and a Baylor Baptist at that.

Brann was a newspaperman who fought bigotry wherever he found it (outside himself, that is). He sided with Catholics against Baylor's Baptists with relentless and highly profitable zeal at the same time he despised Negroes wholeheartedly and coarsely.

Brann was horsewhipped, kidnaped, and almost strung from a tree limb by a group of Baylor Bear cubs infuriated to the breaking point by his barbs. Finally he was shot to death.

It's difficult to draw the line between muckraking and yellow journalism in the *Iconoclast*. The paper was a real scattergun, shooting in all directions. Who can decide sincerity in another, especially years later? The bigotry Brann fought was hard-shelled bigotry, the kind that goes all-out with no holds barred.

The events and repercussions of the Antonia Teixeira incident, which finally and fatally cooked Brann's goose with Baylor and its Waco adherents, were certainly amplified by bigotry. Whether Antonia was raped or whether she seduced the brother of the son-in-law of Baylor's president, in whose house she lived, makes little difference. There is no way to prove either side of the case. But Baylor's actions, through its president, and Brann's accounts of the affair can claim no awards for ob-

jectivity. The actions of either in a present-day circumstance would plainly stink.

With all the rough words that followed, the Teixeira incident was bound to generate physical action. First was the kidnaping and near-lynching. Then the college boys learned to mob up in front of Brann's house and shout abuse that affected his wife grievously. On at least one occasion fire hoses had to be used to disperse these heroes.

And then Brann was shot "right where the suspenders cross." That was the end of the *Iconoclast* except for one obituary issue.

Who is to say what Brann was? His libel-be-damned, to-hell-with-facts type of newspapering was fairly typical of his day. Himself narrow-minded in some respects at least, he fought all the bigotry he saw. He had every reason to be exceedingly bitter with the world when he started the *Iconoclast*. He had had more than one man's share of failures and disappointments, including the death of a child for which he blamed himself.

This is a book that compels reading at one sitting.

Dryden L. Prentice
The Austin Statesman

LYNDON O. BROWN, RICHARD S. LESLER, and W. M. WEILBACKER: *Advertising Media*. New York, The Ronald Press Company, 1957. 397 pages. \$7.50.

Here is an ideal text for the teacher of an advanced course in advertising where a detailed study of advertising media is to be made and the link between marketing and the media made evident. Without a previous course in

advertising or experience on an executive level in advertising, the reader will be lost. The scholarly approach to the process of making media decisions is impressive.

The authors have arranged their book in four parts. Part I discusses the concept of media strategy and the important factors which continue to influence and determine the growth of advertising media. Part II deals with basic media concepts. This section is quite technical, and one readily perceives that the authors are writing for advanced students in advertising and marketing. The qualitative characteristics of media audiences are analyzed, and the limitations inherent in current qualitative audience data are emphasized.

Part III is concerned with critical factors which affect decision-making in advertising media. An interpretive summary of the points of view developed throughout the book is presented in Part IV.

The reviewer agrees with the authors in regard to the groups who will find the book a storehouse of information. In addition to its value as a teaching instrument, it is slanted to the business executive whose work involves advertising media. Specialists engaged in media activities will find valuable the material demonstrating the link between media and the total marketing-process.

There is a wealth of statistical material, but the authors are always careful to point out the limitations of the studies which have been made in the field. Unlimited hints for research may be found for the student seeking such help.

The book is a "must" for either a teacher of advanced advertising courses

or for the serious student of advertising media.

W. J. Thomas
Baylor University

GARY S. BECKER: *The Economics of Discrimination*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1957. 127 pages. \$3.50.

For social scientists generally, Becker's book will be significant because it represents virtually the first effort to present a comprehensive economic analysis of what is probably the nation's foremost social problem—racial discrimination. For economists, however, Becker's work may in the long run be significant more for its effective development of a theory of nonpecuniary motivations and the fitting of such a theory into the general framework for the analysis of an important problem.

The devices by means of which Becker makes possible the measurement and thereby the inclusion of nonpecuniary motives in the analytical framework are relatively simple. The concept of a "taste for discrimination" is introduced, a person having such a taste being defined as one who will act in the market place as if he were willing to pay something or to sacrifice income in order to be associated with particular persons rather than others. The strength of this taste is measured by a "discrimination coefficient" which represents the percentage by which "real" costs (or "real" returns) are increased (decreased) over money costs (money returns) when they arise in connection with the persons discriminated against. Thus, if the money wage of a particular factor of production is π , an employer is assumed to act as if $\pi(1+d)$ were

the "net" or "real" wage paid, d representing his discrimination coefficient against this particular factor. If his d for white labor is zero, and that for colored labor is 0.5, then the money wage rate of colored labor would have to be less than two-thirds that of white labor before this employer would hire colored. Only when this is the case will the net or real cost of hiring colored labor be less than that of hiring whites. When the money cost of colored labor is, say, 80 per cent that of white, the employer is obviously forfeiting money income by hiring whites only; impelled in part by nonpecuniary motives, however, this is not of overriding importance to him. Since d can be positive, negative, or zero, cases of discrimination, nepotism, or utter "rationality" on the part of the employer can be included in this framework.

Next a market discrimination coefficient is introduced, defined as the difference between the ratio of actual prices of two factor groups and the ratio of the prices which the two groups would command if discrimination were absent. When this difference is positive, effective discrimination against one group is said to exist. In such a case the market is in effect paying to avoid certain dealings with the less-preferred group.

After applying these concepts and elements of the theory of international trade to the question of general and mutual effects of discrimination on the incomes of discriminator and discriminated, Becker moves to an examination of the effects of discrimination against various factors by employers, employees, consumers, and government, each taken separately. These effects are then drawn together to present a theory of market discrimination. The latter

pages of the book are devoted to an application of the conclusions to the case of anti-Negro discrimination in the United States. The conclusions, dealing with the various effects of discrimination in monopolistic *versus* competitive markets, by complementary *versus* competitive factors, etc., are interesting, and some may be challenged. This is not the place to challenge them or even to present them, however, but only to commend them to the attention of interested parties. Neither the mathematics nor the discussion of the book is difficult, and the importance of both the social issue and the analytical method involved make it a worthwhile study.

L. A. Drewry, Jr.

North Carolina State College
of Agriculture and Engineering

SAXON GRAHAM: *American Culture: An Analysis of Its Development and Present Characteristics*. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1957. 571 pages. \$6.50.

This book commences like most other introductory texts in the field—with a chapter designed to establish the scientific respectability of the social sciences. It attempts to utilize data from the various social sciences for a description and analysis of the development and present characteristics of American culture within a sociological framework. Graham comments: "... our approach will go two steps beyond simple description: we will look into reasons for our developing in this way and that and we will examine the problems created by this development."

The first six chapters contain background information of a conceptual and demographic character. The chap-

ter on the American value-system not only emphasizes the importance of values and their "raison d'être" with respect to behavior and institutions, but it is also a refreshing attempt to view culture in its subjective as well as objective aspects. The discussion on selected American institutions assumed to be basic—familial, economic, political, educational, religious, recreational, health and welfare—contains real value for general-education courses in the social sciences. This part of the text is uniquely tied together by emphasis on the values which permeate our culture. The final three chapters deal with status differentiation and social change.

While texts of this type must be highly selective in subject matter, they rarely escape damage from the horns of the dilemma of shallow survey on the one hand and unduly elaborate discussion on the other. Graham did not escape entirely the first, though *American Culture*, through the central concept of values, is an outstanding effort at integrating the social sciences on the elementary level. To have integrated the background chapters, where needed, throughout the discussion on the various institutions would have been consistent with the integrated approach and at the same time would have allowed a more comprehensive treatment, short of specialization, of each institution.

It will be somewhat distressing for the critical reader to note the lack of precision in the use of such basic concepts as "society" and "culture." These terms seem to be employed interchangeably. Unfortunately, "racial minority" and "race relations" are used synonymously to mean "caste" and "caste relations." Finally, the announced intent to examine the problems created in the

emergence of American culture is often forgotten or done in cursory manner.

Tilman C. Cothiron
Arkansas Agricultural and
Mechanical College

JOHN G. TURNBULL, C. ARTHUR WILLIAMS, JR., and EARL F. CHEIT: *Economic and Social Security*. New York, The Ronald Press Company, 1957. 539 pages. \$6.00.

This book is concerned with the nature of economic insecurity (or security) and with the means by which the individual and society have sought to prevent and to alleviate such insecurity. All the conventional labor-market insecurities (old age, unemployment, industrial accident, and illness) are treated, and attention is devoted to both public and private programs designed to cope with the problem of insecurity.

The authors have not confined themselves to description and analysis but have ventured into the more dangerous field of judgment. In so doing, they have become vulnerable to bilateral criticism, for they have stated the essential issue to be: To what extent does an individual who lacks basic resources have an enforceable right to receive from society a minimum standard of living? The probability that some criticism will flow both from the springs of liberalism and from those of conservatism is indicative of the middle-of-the-road position of the authors; that both public and private economic security programs are socially desirable, that there are many inadequacies in existing programs, and that appropriate action should be undertaken to remedy the inadequacies.

Concern over the economic effect of

security programs is shown throughout. What impact has the minimum wage had on employment? Have the security programs been inflationary or deflationary? How can society avoid mass unemployment and inflation? What are the effects of security programs upon entrepreneurship? These questions are typical of the broad economic viewpoint manifested by the authors.

The book should serve as an excellent text for courses primarily concerned with economic insecurity. It is well organized, with emphasis upon principle rather than detail, written in language that the intelligent student can comprehend, and up to date on trends in security programs. Moreover, each chapter contains a summary section and a reasonably adequate bibliography.

Those who would seek fault probably would argue that the principal weakness of the book lies in the insufficient attention given to the effect of security programs upon inflation. Those who would praise probably would stress that it admirably attains the worthy purposes stated in the Preface. One might suggest, however, that its most valuable contribution may well lie in stimulating young students to be of service to their fellow man through lives dedicated to the improvement of security programs.

Clyde L. Hall
Austin College

CARLTON CLYMER RODEE, TOTTON JAMES ANDERSON, and CARL QUIMBY CHRISTOL: *Introduction to Political Science*. New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1957. 655 pages. \$6.00.

As the title indicates, this book was designed as a basic text for a beginning course in political science. In their preface the authors are even more specific in delimiting its intended use: the book is one that may be used most profitably by freshmen, sophomores, junior-college students, and lay readers.

The authors have varied the usual approach of the general introductory text by presenting a synoptic view of each of several recognized fields of political science, rather than by attempting to integrate the discipline through a single field (such as comparative government) or by the problem approach. They recognize nine fields of political science, but by judicious reduction they have incorporated the treatment of all of them into six major sections: political fundamentals; public law; theory and organization of the modern state (including contemporary ideologies, American and comparative government); political dynamics (public opinion, parties, and pressure groups); public policy and administration; and international relations.

The treatment is fairly even quantitatively, though, as might be expected, the section on the theory and organization of the modern state takes up well over one-third of the book. The authors have adopted orthodox approaches to each field, and because of their balanced presentation they have not prejudiced the instructor's opportunity to deal interpretatively with the topics presented.

As is nearly always true in any attempt to cover so much in so small a compass, some of the generalizations are fairly sweeping. One of the main weaknesses of such an approach is its tendency to evoke enthusiasm for the

subject and a propensity toward oversimplification before the beginning student has had an opportunity to become aware of the complexities and subtleties of political thought and action. Some minor errors in the text, too, may be misleading to the inexperienced reader; for example, since the proper term for the highest post in the British Civil Service in most ministries is "permanent secretary," it would have been more accurate—and therefore clearer—to have used this designation and noted the exceptions, rather than to refer to all such positions as "undersecretaries."

The textbook which uncovers basic problems in political science is very rare, but a good one will nearly always raise pedagogical questions. In this case, the main problem is whether the integration of a discipline like political science should come at the beginning or at the end of formal studies. Readers of Professor Michael Oakshott's deservedly well-known inaugural address on *Political Education* must certainly have been stimulated to ask themselves whether there is any real alternative to entering the study of politics by way of attempting to interpret and clarify the traditions of one's own political society. But since politics is a self-moved activity, without a clear separation of ends and means, it would perhaps be arbitrary to resolve the problem without further experimentation. The authors of the volume under review may have made a contribution to an answer to the question, "What is teachable and how may it be taught?"

William C. Havard
Louisiana State University

WROE ALDERSON: *Marketing Behavior and Executive Action*. Homewood,

Illinois, Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1957. 487 pages. \$6.50.

The author, a marketing practitioner, has written a provocative book. His intentions—and he manages to live up to them—are set forth early: "It is an ironic paradox that the ever-increasing demands from business executives have forced marketing men to become more theoretical. The kinds of questions executives are asking call for rigorous techniques in problem solving, which in turn need to be rationalized in terms of some general theoretical perspective. The marketing teacher finds that he cannot equip his students for effective work in marketing simply by imparting a sound body of knowledge concerning marketing institutions and processes. The most important fact of all is change. Here again theoretical perspective is essential if the marketing man entering business is to grasp what is going on in a world of change." Limited space does not permit this reviewer to attempt to discuss the adequacy of Alderson's general theory.

In three parts, the book is for the graduate student who is trying to organize what he has learned about marketing from other books and relate it to a background of knowledge in the other social sciences. Part I establishes the postulate that market behavior is a phenomenon resulting from group activity. Alderson draws from the social sciences for the elements of a theory of group behavior which he then, in Part II, relates to the functioning of groups in the market place. Part III summarizes the principles of executive action for making group operations more effective.

Drawing from many sources and translating many concepts into market-

ing terminology, the author has produced some strange bedfellows. Some writers may feel that in translation they have been misquoted or misunderstood. The economist may dismiss this book with "This is nothing new"; the professor of management will insist that it should be titled *Executive Action: A Study of Management Principles Applied to Marketing Problems*; and others will perhaps choose to ignore the book. For the critical, it should be stressed that this is a work for the serious student—in most instances, the graduate student. (But some hardy professor will doubtless try—with poor success—to teach it to sophomores.) Each chapter lists several additional references which the student of marketing should explore.

For those who subscribe to the problem-solving or case-method philosophy of teaching, this book will become a useful tool. For those who wish to start with a theory in a seminar, it will answer that demand. Some sections may be hard going for the student, especially if he is not well-schooled in the social sciences, but additional reading will aid in a more thorough understanding. Alderson has presented a conceptual framework in which many existing and future studies may be related for a general theory of marketing.

C. Burl Hubbard
Texas Technological College

TIEN-FONG CHENG: *A History of Sino-Russian Relations*. Washington, D.C., Public Affairs Press, 1957. 389 pages. \$6.00.

Here is a survey of Czarist and Soviet policy in Sino-Soviet relations from the point of view of a former Minister of

Education in the Kuomintang government. It is an unhappy story of faithlessness and subversion.

The first seven chapters, which add little to what is already known of Sino-Russian relations up to 1917, could possibly have been condensed into two. Indeed, the most interesting part of the work (enriched by the author's diary as a source) is the period after 1917 and especially the struggle between the Chinese Communists and the Kuomintang and the role of the Soviet Union and the United States in this tragic conflict.

Few will dispute that Soviet policy toward China has been an extension of Czarist ambitions and objectives. Nor can one doubt the assertions that the Soviet Union abetted the Sino-Japanese conflict after 1931 and that Mao Tse-tung's policy of "70 per cent expansion, 20 per cent dealing with the Kuomintang, and 10 per cent resisting Japan" gave credence to Chiang Kai-shek's policy of eliminating the enemy from within before resisting the enemy from without.

But some of the author's conclusions are open to question: (1) It is gross oversimplification to state that American opinion at the end of the Russo-Japanese War veered toward Russia because of Sergius Witte's "clever diplomacy and dominant personality." (2) Certainly there were reasons more compelling than the lack of modern conveniences to cause Americans in wartime China to conclude that the Nationalists were "corrupt, inefficient, undemocratic and not too anxious to fight against the Japanese." (3) Stillwell was undoubtedly tactless, but is it fair to condemn him as "unreasonable and arrogant" in attitude because he criticized Chiang's regime as tainted

with "greed, corruption, favoritism, . . . terrible waste of life, [and] callous disregard of the rights of man"? This was also the verdict of his successor, General Wedemeyer, who, the author implies, listened more to people outside the government than in it. (4) Is it correct to censure the Truman Administration for refusing to implement Wedemeyer's recommendations without taking into consideration the fact that the American public was reluctant to risk a difficult and costly war in China?

Then, too, at the risk of being academic, one might also take issue with the use of the term "Free China" to describe the present Nationalist government. To many *close* observers, "Free China" appears to be free only in the sense that it is free from the control of the monolithic Peking despotism.

Yet, this is a book worth reading and its merit will certainly be enhanced by the absence of misspellings and proof-reading errors and by the inclusion of pertinent maps.

Joseph O. Baylen
Mississippi State College

R. JOHN RATH: *The Viennese Revolution of 1848*. Austin, University of Texas Press, 1957. 424 pages. \$6.50.

Four years ago Rath published an article in this journal summarizing the story of the Viennese revolution. He has now told it in a much needed, detailed book, and his work is noteworthy for two reasons.

In the first place, this book, based on a meticulous study of a wide variety of sources, is a definitive monograph of the events of 1848 in Vienna. The author's skill in weaving into his narra-

tive the ephemeral literature of the revolution—manifestoes, placards, pamphlets, poems, etc.—brings to life the successive phases of that year of revolution.

In a social-science journal it is especially appropriate to emphasize the second noteworthy feature of this study: the fact that it is a very revealing case study in the natural history of revolution, at least of the pre-Bolshevik, pre-Fascist variety. The social scientist should find most interesting the author's clear-cut delineation of the successive stages of the revolution and the resulting shifts in the balance of power as the various socio-economic groupings had their day in succession.

The revolution began with a coalition of middle-class and professional liberals, university students, the lower middle-class, and the suburban workers, all of whom had grievances against the existing regime. In March of 1848 this formidable combination, encouraged by the news of a successful revolt in Paris, forced from a reluctant but intimidated government the promise of a constitution—a solid victory for nineteenth-century middle-class liberalism. But the more radical leaders of student, lower middle-class, and worker groups advocated democracy and welfare projects to assist the workers, and by the end of May these groups were in control in Vienna. Bourgeois liberals had no interest in such a program, and no enthusiasm at all for further revolution that might threaten property rights, and a revulsion of feeling against the radicals arose. Conservatives and liberals united against the threat of proletarian revolution. A worker demonstration in August was sternly repressed, the government stood firmly against unorthodox economic proposals of the

lower middle-class in September, and a radical uprising in October led swiftly to a military victory for Habsburg authority and conservatism. By the end of the year all talk of a constitution and liberal reforms was a thing of the past.

Thus a liberal revolution failed in the face of a fatal split in the revolutionary forces and the military strength of the conservatives; and both middle-class liberalism and the more radical democracy had to wait for more favorable circumstances in Austria. This is an instructive case history for an understanding of not only the nineteenth century but our own as well.

Gordon H. McNeil
University of Arkansas

FRED M. JONES: *Retail Merchandising*. Homewood, Illinois, Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1957. 698 pages. \$8.35.

Most readers of this review will be familiar with Jones's well-written *Principles of Retailing*, published in 1949. Although there are some similarities, this new text is not a revision of the earlier book but a complete re-writing. A conscientious effort has been made to include all the material a teacher of retailing would normally expect in a text designed for a first course. The author's intention was to present a text that could be used satisfactorily by itself or with supplements. Realizing that many teachers use cases and problems extensively today, the author has included references to case and problem books in the supplementary readings at the end of each chapter. In most instances, reference to particularly appropriate cases is made, and all supplementary readings are briefly annotated. Re-

view questions are also included at the end of each chapter.

No doubt in an effort to overcome the common criticism that most retailing texts are actually texts about department stores—and thus about large-scale retailing—the author states in his preface that he wrote the book with the small store in mind. He has done a better-than-average job in making this a text descriptive of both large- and small-store retailing. The department store and the chain store were used extensively as a basis for discussion, however, a method Jones defends: "Throughout, the small store has been kept in mind, but whether the store be large or small the basic principle of retail merchandising is the same; and as the small store becomes the large store, it adopts the methods of the larger store."

Some teachers may complain that the particular phase of retail merchandising which they like to emphasize is not adequately covered. It must be remembered, however, that the amount of material which must be included in the first course is great. Jones has done a good job of choosing and assembling material, and of presenting it in a concise yet clear and readable manner.

James W. Reddoch
Louisiana State University

FREDERICK HERTZ: *The Development of the German Public Mind*. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1957. 522 pages. \$6.00.

This volume is the first in a series of studies in which Hertz will seek to show "what the various sections of the Germans of every rank and class were thinking of the ruling men, how far

they supported or opposed them, what were their wishes, hopes and fears, prejudices, ideals and standards of right and wrong." By such an approach he hopes to reveal the forces and ideas which have helped to mold present-day attitudes of the Germans toward state and society. The present volume deals with the Middle Ages and the Reformation.

The author has set for himself a formidable task. He is concerned not only with presenting the prevailing social and political customs, practices, and ideas in the German states during the Middle Ages and Reformation but also with attempting to indicate the extent to which these customs, practices, and ideas were approved by the populace. That he does not entirely succeed in this undertaking will come as no surprise to students of public opinion, which even today—when publicly expressed attitudes can be elaborately preserved for posterity—is at best an elusive subject. One realizes how much more difficult it is to discover the attitudes of a people on political and social questions during a time when public discussion was confined to a relatively small segment of the population and the devices for recording such discussion were meager. This problem is never quite solved by the author, particularly in his treatment of the period antedating the printing press.

Nevertheless, if one is primarily interested in obtaining a historical perspective against which the present attitudes of Germans toward state and society might be viewed, this is a valuable study. Particularly helpful are those sections dealing with the rise and development of particularism, the early origins of anti-Semitism, and the impact of Lutheranism on German

thought and politics. It is regrettable that the author did not attach to this volume a chapter summarizing his conclusions.

Ronald F. Bunn
The University of Texas

A. L. GITLOW: *Labor Economics and Industrial Relations*. Homewood, Illinois, Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1957. 724 pages. \$6.75.

Beginning with the premise that labor economics and labor problems can best be understood by examining three major "areas of tension" between the "bosses and the bossed" in an industrial society, Gitlow proceeds in an unusually scholarly and well-organized fashion to examine the sources and institutional devices for alleviating these tensions in the American society.

After presenting a particularly informative picture of the American "labor force"—with meticulous attention to the various shades of meaning of this concept—he proceeds to a consideration of trade-unionism as one of the primary areas of tension, arranging the analysis around such traditional topics as theories of the labor movement, history of the movement in America, trade-union structure and government, and the nature, content, and scope of collective bargaining. Integrating into this unit a consideration of labor jurisprudence (as established by court decisions, the Clayton Act, the Norris-LaGuardia Act, the Wagner Act, and the Taft-Hartley Law) is a useful innovation. At the same time other labor legislation bearing more directly upon worker welfare is considered in connection with the third major area of tension—employment and security.

In presenting wages as the second area of conflict, the author adequately surveys various wage theories, describes in some detail the special facets of the labor market, along with a consideration of wage criteria, wage structure, and the Keynesian view of wages and full-employment policy. Like Reynolds and Phelps, Gitlow does not accept the marginal-productivity explanation of wage determination *in toto* but considers, rather, this principle as setting upper and lower limits on wages, with bargaining power being operative in between. And in the wage bargain, "initiating criteria" in wage movements seem to be the cost of living and the ability or inability to pay; these are then "generalized through the pressures originating in the comparative wage criterion."

One may not agree entirely with Gitlow's outlook of the future (especially the sources of progress toward higher real wages), nor with some of the sweeping generalities, left undeveloped; but he can scarcely fail to accept the author's position that there is great hope for material progress if this nation preserves "the spring out of which its democracy flows—the free interchange of conflicting ideas." This text has the merits of a lucid literary style, careful organization, adequate coverage, penetrating analysis for the most part, and an excellent selected bibliography at the end of each chapter. Significant shortcomings are notably absent.

Joe C. Ashby

Lamar State College of Technology

FRANCIS J. BROWN: *Sociology: With Application to Nursing and Health*

Education. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1957. 568 pages. \$6.75.

The purpose of this book as set forth in the Preface is to provide "a helpful analysis of human relations, a deeper understanding of their importance in modern society, and a challenge to the reader to appraise his own social interaction with his associates," a purpose completely in accord with the current philosophy of nursing and nursing education. The competence with which the author has achieved this purpose makes the book admirably suited to the instruction of nurses. Far from dull, it makes sociology seem alive, fascinating, and a part of everyday life. Throughout there is skillful use of examples so familiar as to prompt the reader to supplement them from his own experience.

Large, clear print, a summary at the end of each chapter, and an index make the book easy to use. Tables, figures, and pictures appropriately illustrate or clarify the content. The arrangement of content is logical, with the first chapters concerned with general sociological concepts and the later ones presenting an overview of health problems and the professions concerned with them. These professions are seen as interdependent members of a health team, all of whom have in common the overriding goal of improved health for the members of society. Anyone studying this book should find it impossible to hold a narrow, restricted concept of nursing or any of the other health professions.

At the end of each chapter are a concise summary, topics for discussion, case material, and a list of suggested readings. The topics and case material are

thought-provoking and are well selected as a means of relating sociology to the health field. Their use for individual or class exploration should deepen understanding of the fundamental implications of sociology for the health field.

The book should be helpful in developing in students the habit of critical thinking, of searching for facts and weighing them carefully before making judgments.

M. Virginia Dryden
School of Nursing
The University of Texas

RALPH H. TURNER and LEWIS M. KILLIAN: *Collective Behavior*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1957. 547 pages. \$6.95.

For sociologists, with their traditional emphasis upon the more stable elements in social organization, the field of collective behavior has tended to be something of an anomaly. The pattern of treatment was set at least as early as the publication of Park and Burgess' *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*. That book included a chapter, entitled "Collective Behavior," which defined the field, established a taxonomy of types, and ended with appropriate illustrative materials. This pattern, which generally has persisted in one form or another in the few subsequent attempts at a synthesis, is characteristic of the book by Turner and Killian.

The authors-editors have divided their presentation into four basic parts: (1) a delineation of the field of collective behavior; (2) crowds; (3) the "diffuse collectivity," a term used primarily to cover mass and public be-

havior; and (4) social movements. A fifth part—a single chapter on the relation of collective behavior to social change and social stability—is appended. Each part, except the final chapter, includes readings drawn from a wide variety of authors and disciplines. In form, then, this is a text-with-readings. Two things save it from being "just another" text-with-readings: first, such an effort is long overdue and badly needed; second, the authors-editors have brought together a wide range of recent materials in sociology and related disciplines which show the vitality of collective behavior as a field of study.

Both text and readings, particularly the readings, tend to be descriptive rather than analytical. As Turner and Killian point out, this is essentially a function of the present development of the field. Impressionistic description is at its maximum in the sections on crowds and social movements. The chapters on mass and public behavior contain the highest proportion of readings based on attempts at systematic research. One must wonder whether this is because these areas are inherently more researchable or whether it is because research in them has proved to have a market value.

Turner and Killian express the modest hope that their book "may provide a baseline, however uneven, from which better maps of the field of collective behavior may be developed." In the reviewer's opinion this has been done. The book might have been strengthened had the authors dropped a self-imposed limitation on the inclusion of recent material on "psychological dynamics" in the area of public opinion and by more explicit emphasis

on research methods in collective behavior. The publisher could have helped by providing a table of contents for the readings.

H. J. Friedsam
North Texas State College

WALTER F. VELLA: *Siam under Rama III, 1824-1851*. Locust Valley, New York, J. J. Augustin, Inc., 1957. 180 pages. \$5.00.

Two hundred and seventy-four years ago, the first American, a merchant adventurer by the name of Thomas Yale, landed in Siam. He was a brother of Elihu Yale, for whom Yale University is named. Shortly after the American Revolution, American merchantmen again included Siam as a port of call. In good time they were followed by American missionaries and diplomats. The Reverend David Abeel, M.D., the first missionary sent by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, arrived in Siam on July 2, 1831. Two years later, Edmund Roberts succeeded in concluding the first American treaty with any Oriental nation—a treaty of friendship and commerce between the United States and Siam. This happy incident, of which Thailanders are proud, took place during the reign of King Rama III.

One other item of interest to Americans occurred in this region: The birth of the first "Siamese twins" the world had ever known. Born in Siam, they were brought to this country to appear with the great P. T. Barnum, settled in Mount Airy, North Carolina, and adopted the name of Bunker.

"Siam under Rama III" is really an interesting subject to touch upon, but

somehow or other it has been overlooked up to now. Thanks to the author, those who are interested may now know the historical facts of Siam during this reign.

Rama III gave Siam a strong and vigorous reign, and the spirit of the new dynasty was manifest in all fields. Western contacts were strong in the succeeding reign, but the groundwork had been laid by Rama III.

Anyone who wishes facts, not fiction, may turn to this book, for it is authentic and has a complete bibliography. An unusual feature is the list of materials in the Siamese language, with translation of author, title, imprints, and in some cases, annotation.

C. Prabha
Royal Thai Embassy
Washington, D.C.

MARY GOLDRING: *Economics of Atomic Energy*. New York, Philosophical Library, Inc., 1957. 179 pages. \$6.00.

WILLIAM E. DICK: *Atomic Energy in Agriculture*. New York, Philosophical Library, Inc., 1957. 150 pages. \$6.00.

Economics of Atomic Energy and *Atomic Energy in Agriculture* are two of the books in *The Atoms for Peace Series*. The aim of this series is to popularize for the general public the rapidly growing scientific knowledge of nuclear power. At the same time these volumes aim to sketch the development thus far and outline major trends.

Goldring's book is a critical discussion of the growth of nuclear power in Britain. Divided into three parts—"Atomic Industry," "Atomic Power,"

and "Atomic Investment"—it takes up the problems of the young British nuclear power industry. Technical processes are explained, the meaning of atomic power to Britain's economy is analyzed, and prospects for atomic power and for international trade in atomic materials, along with technical know-how in atomic plants and their functions, are discussed.

In a final chapter entitled "Britain's Atomic Future," the author cites with understandable pride the development at Calder Hall power station from which atomic energy is now flowing in the national grid. Without much chance of Britain's expanding her output of coal and with the constantly increasing demands for power, nuclear power is the answer to her problem of supplying power. The seriousness of Britain's dependence upon Middle East oil, so clearly shown during the Suez crisis of 1956, makes this development of special urgency. Obviously, basic experimentations have been completed. The industry now can grow.

Dick, a research biologist and editor of chemical journals, discusses in *Atomic Energy in Agriculture* how atomic energy can be used to speed up plant breeding and make possible the production of many different agricultural plants hitherto impossible to obtain. Atomic energy has a variety of uses and the author discusses in his short book several of those, e.g., the destruction and control of pests and diseases, the preservation and sterilization of foods and pharmaceutical compounds, and the application of techniques of radiation genetics to forest trees.

This book analyzes and summarizes numerous papers presented at the 1955

Geneva conference on atomic energy. It presents for the average reader the findings of many scientists of many different countries.

George W. Hoffman
The University of Texas

MICHAEL ARGYLE: *The Scientific Study of Social Behavior*. London, Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1957. 239 pages. \$6.00.

American behavioral scientists should be stimulated and sometimes shocked by the forthright appraisals of their theories and methods in this book. Michael Argyle, lecturer in social psychology at Oxford University, would prefer to regard himself as an experimental psychologist attending to special subject matter—the behavior of people when others are present. But he does not arrive at what he seeks, an axiomatic theory of social behavior. Nevertheless, the third of the book devoted to an assessment of current conceptions and techniques of obtaining and analyzing data provides a challenging perspective of an important aspect of modern social psychology as it has been developed by various schools of psychology, certain sociologists, and a few anthropologists.

The remaining two-thirds of the volume really is a review of relevant literature heavily loaded with selected factual material. Here the focus is upon the interaction process, small-group research, and human relations in industry and other formal organizations. His summaries are concise, and he shows awareness of emerging trends in his necessarily brief treatment of what has been accomplished. Inconsistencies

show up, for example, between his belief that nonverbal behavior cannot be explained by verbal behavior and the attention given to various interview methods. He does make a plea for techniques of controlled observation, but the examples apparently do not fit the kind of theory and method he is suggesting and nowhere succeeds in shaping.

Carson McGuire
The University of Texas

KARL LOEWENSTEIN: *Political Power and the Governmental Process*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1957. 442 pages. \$6.00.

The title of this book will deceive the unwary. However, the jacket blurb is honest. It states: "Discarding the socio-psychological behaviorism current in American political science, he derives from the actual operation of the governmental process a set of general categories into which all governmental structures past and present can be fitted."

Loewenstein finds the efforts of behavioral political science to "parallel the vain efforts of man directed toward the ontological proof of the existence of a Divine Being." As he says, "the essence of the power reality must remain as elusive as before." For those who have given up methodological essentialism and the metaphysical quest this will seem less than devastating.

He concludes: "The choices between liberty and authority, thus, are the ideological infrastructure, or the *telos*, of any and all state societies. Liberty of the power addressees is possible only if the exercise of political power by the power holders is adequately controlled.

The existence or absence of such controls, their methods and institutionalization, and their degree and intensity characterize the particular political systems and denote the basic differences among them. The process of political power, therefore, is understandable only by way of the analysis of the mechanism for the control of its exercise."

Given his prejudices and predilections, Loewenstein can scarcely be blamed for writing a rather conventional work on comparative constitutional law and institutions. He should have so entitled it. The book is saved from empty formalism by the author's excursions into the forbidden area of "socio-psychological behaviorism." It is crammed with useful material. Its heart is in the right place, and though it adds nothing to the knowledge of constitutionalism not already available in McIlwain, Friedrick, Finer, and others, it should be a useful handbook for graduate students preparing for general examinations.

Norton E. Long
Harvard University

WILLIAM BIXLEY: *The Guilty and the Innocent*. New York, Philosophical Library, Inc., 1957. 176 pages. \$6.00.

The Old Bailey was originally a jail, also called Newgate, as well as the site of the criminal courts of the City of London. It is now used only for the sessions of the six courts of the Central Criminal Court.

In an initial chapter, Bixley, who served for fifty years as "a supervisory official of the Central Criminal Court" (there is no further identification) summarizes the history both of the jail and

the courts at the Old Bailey. He provides some interesting lore on the cruelty and corruption of prison management before the prison reforms of the nineteenth century, and on the savagery of the punishments for crime in earlier times. We learn, for example, that so lucrative were the perquisites of the Keeper of Newgate that £3,500 were paid for the post in 1696, equivalent to about £60,000 today. We learn also of the sentence of a boy of nine to be hanged for the theft of 2d. worth of goods from a shop window.

The major purpose of the book, however, is to record the author's personal impressions of some of the criminal trials, principally for murder, which he witnessed. In the course of the book he gives thumbnail sketches of perhaps two scores of the most famous British crimes of the last half-century. These add little to criminology or to the studies of murder and murder trials which are a British literary specialty, but they should be of interest to the general reader.

Joseph C. Swidler
Knoxville, Tenn.

DAVID T. CATTELL: *Soviet Diplomacy and the Spanish Civil War*. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1957. 204 pages. \$3.00.

EVRON M. KIRKPATRICK (ed.): *Year of Crisis: Communist Propaganda Activities in 1956*. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1958. 414 pages. \$5.50.

Soviet Diplomacy and the Spanish Civil War is the successor volume to the author's *Communism and the Spanish Civil War*, reviewed in this journal in June, 1956. Whereas the first volume

dealt with the direct relationship between the USSR and Spain, this one analyzes the effect of the evolution of the Spanish situation on the formulation of the general foreign policy of the USSR. The bulk of the book is a careful chronicling of the development of the diplomatic negotiations from the outbreak of the war in June of 1936 to the victory of the Western policy of appeasement in 1938. The re-reading of these events recalls the tensions and emotions of the time which were so soon to be forgotten with the advent of the Second World War. Such phrases and slogans as "nonintervention," "volunteers," "collective security," and the impassioned debates in the League committee, which roused such bitter controversy, especially in liberal circles, today seem but remote echoes from a distant past. What value, then, in recalling events which had perhaps best be forgotten or remembered only as preliminary skirmishes in the arena of *Realpolitik*?

The author meets this challenge and vindicates his work on two grounds. First, speaking as a historian, he demonstrates that it is now possible to make an objective re-evaluation of the Spanish episode and thus do justice to the memories of those men who made policy at that time. For example, was the victory of Franco really a defeat for British policy in the long run? Was not Chamberlain's hope of playing for time in Spain actually the only practical policy that the militarily weak West could follow? Was not Churchill's sage observation that a Franco victory need not mean the continued dominance of Spain by foreign troops substantiated by events? To have attempted this type of re-evaluation in the thirties or forties would have been im-

possible, enmeshed as the memory of the Spanish conflict was in the emotions of the Left and Right. Today it can be done and has been done by the author, and to the extent that this results in a more balanced view of the Spanish Civil War and the personalities who played a part therein, a service has been done to scholarship and history. This is not to say that Cattell agrees with the policies followed by the West. What he has done is to make them more understandable against the background of the time.

More significant, however, is the author's treatment of the effect of the Spanish crisis upon the development of Soviet foreign policy. As the author notes, the USSR came away from the conflict firmly convinced of the impotency of the League and of the intention of the Western democracies to abandon the USSR to the Fascist threat. This led to a complete reversal of Soviet foreign policy and to Stalin's determination to restore to the USSR full freedom of diplomatic action. After the victory of Franco, the USSR was prepared to follow a completely Machiavellian policy of seeking alliances wherever they might prove beneficial to the security of Russia. Thus the abandonment of West and the opening of the way to the Stalin-Hitler pact. The Spanish Civil War and the diplomacy connected therewith thus emerge as significant causative factors in the subsequent evolution of world history. For these two reasons, Cattell's work merits our attention and deserves our gratitude.

In *Year of Crisis*, Kirkpatrick follows the pattern established in his earlier *Target the World* and gives us a country-by-country analysis of Communist world propaganda during 1956.

No one would maintain that he lacks material. The year 1956 saw the Twentieth Party Congress, the development of the de-Stalinization campaign, the revolts in Hungary and Poland, the Suez crisis, and increasing turbulence in Asia and the Near East. Relying upon a mass of material collected from various sources, the editor-author presents a picture of the basic organization of the Communist propaganda apparatus and follows this with a detailed analysis of its operation and application in the chief geographical divisions of the world. Of great interest is the picture which emerges of the delicate relationship between the USSR and China in the development of propaganda leadership in Asia, and the skillful use of the Suez crisis by the Communists to offset the bad propaganda effects of the Hungarian and Polish revolts. The ability of the Communist propaganda machine to respond to these stresses and strains within the Communist empire itself demonstrates that it is in as good working order as ever. The book cannot leave the reader with any feeling of smug complacency but rather again underlines the tremendous extent, close-knit organization, and extensive governmental and financial support characteristic of the international propaganda activity of world communism. The volume is accordingly an invaluable source of factual data and an indispensable reference work for all those concerned with the study of contemporary communism. Considerably more compact and somewhat better organized than its predecessor, it fills an important place in the literature and is commended to all working in the field.

H. Malcolm Macdonald
The University of Texas

Other Books Received

June, 1958

- Abernethy, Byron R. (ed.): *Private Elisba Stockwell, Jr., Sees the Civil War*. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1958. 210 pages. \$3.75.
- Abrahamsen, Samuel: *Sweden's Foreign Policy*. Washington, D.C., Public Affairs Press, 1958. 99 pages. \$2.50.
- Adler, Selig: *The Isolationist Impulse*. New York, Abelard-Schuman, Ltd., 1958. 538 pages. \$6.75.
- Anatomy of Revolution: A Condensation of the United Nations Report on the Hungarian Uprising*. Washington, D.C., Public Affairs Press, 1957. 65 pages.
- Bateson, Gregory: *Naven*. Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1958. 312 pages. \$6.00.
- Birr, Kendall: *Pioneering in Industrial Research*. Washington, D.C., Public Affairs Press, 1957. 204 pages. \$4.50.
- Breckenridge, Adam Carlyle: *One House for Two*. Washington, D.C., Public Affairs Press, 1957. 98 pages. \$2.50.
- Brunner, Edmund de S.: *The Growth of a Science*. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1957. 171 pages. \$3.00.
- Buckingham, Walter S., Jr.: *Theoretical Economic Systems*. New York, The Ronald Press Company, 1958. 518 pages. \$7.00.
- Byrnes, Robert F. (ed.): *Yugoslavia*. New York, Frederick A. Praeger, 1957. 488 pages. \$8.50.
- Cape, William H.: *Constitutional Revision in South Dakota*. Vermillion, State University of South Dakota, 1957. 106 pages.
- Chemistry and Physics*. Albany, New York State Education Department, 1958. 72 pages.
- Colm, Gerhard, and Theodore Geiger: *The Economy of the American People*. Washington, D.C., National Planning Association, 1958. 167 pages. \$2.00.
- Derber, Milton, and Edwin Young (eds.): *Labor and the New Deal*. Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1958. 393 pages. \$6.00.
- Dillon, Conley H., Carl Leiden, and Paul D. Stewart: *Introduction to Political Science*. Princeton, New Jersey, D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1958. 298 pages. \$4.85.
- Dobriansky, Lev E.: *Veblenism: A New Critique*. Washington, D.C., Public Affairs Press, 1957. 409 pages. \$6.00.
- Drake, Joseph T.: *The Aged in American Society*. New York, The Ronald Press Company, 1958. 431 pages. \$5.50.
- Election Laws*. Frankfort, Legislative Research Commission, Commonwealth of Kentucky, 1958. 138 pages.
- Ewing, Cortez A. M.: *American National Government*. New York, American Book Company, 1958. 735 pages. \$7.25.
- Farber, W. O., Philip A. Odeen, and Robert A. Tschetter: *Indians, Law Enforcement and Local Government*. Vermillion, State University of South

- Dakota, Governmental Research Bureau, 1957. 92 pages.
- Farris, Charles D.: *Dixie City Talks: Is Zoning An Issue?* University, Alabama, Bureau of Public Administration, 1958. 38 pages.
- Federal in Lieu Payments to School Districts.* Frankfort, Legislative Research Commission, Commonwealth of Kentucky, 1957. 39 pages.
- Fisher-Galati, Stephen (ed.): *Romania.* New York, Frederick A. Praeger, 1957. 399 pages. \$8.50.
- Friedman, Robert S: *The Maryland County Unit System and Urban Rural Politics.* College Park, University of Maryland, Bureau of Governmental Research, 1957. 31 pages.
- Gerth, H. H., and C. Wright Mills: *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology.* New York, Oxford University Press, 1958. 490 pages. \$2.25.
- Gittler, Joseph B. (ed.): *Review of Sociology.* New York, John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1957. 588 pages. \$10.50.
- Gross, Neal, Ward S. Mason, and Alexander W. McEarchern: *Explorations in Role Analysis.* New York, John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1958. 379 pages. \$8.75.
- Hein, Clarence J.: *State Supervision of County and City Expenditures in Kansas.* Lawrence, University of Kansas Publications, 1958. 44 pages.
- International Law and the Middle East Crisis: A Symposium.* New Orleans, Tulane University, 1957. 93 pages. \$2.00.
- Lane, Bess B.: *Enriching Family Life.* Washington, D.C., Public Affairs Press, 1958. 121 pages. \$3.25.
- Lerche, Charles O., Jr.: *Foreign Policy of the American People.* New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1958. 547 pages. \$7.50.
- Loomis, Noel M.: *The Texas-Santa Fe Pioneers.* Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1958. 329 pages. \$5.00.
- McCorkle, Lloyd W., Albert Elias, and F. Lvell Bixby: *The Highfields Story.* New York, Henry Holt and Company, Inc., 1958. 182 pages. \$2.60.
- McCune, Wesley: *Ezra Taft Benson, Man with a Mission.* Washington, D.C., Public Affairs Press, 1957. 123 pages. \$2.50.
- Mayer, Frederick: *New Directions for the American University.* Washington, D.C., Public Affairs Press, 1957. 52 pages. \$2.50.
- Municipal Government: Home Rule: State Assistance.* Frankfort, Legislative Research Council, 1958. 27 pages.
- New Frontiers of Knowledge: A Symposium by Distinguished Writers, Scholars, and Public Figures.* Washington, D.C., Public Affairs Press, 1958. 125 pages. \$2.75.
- Pinball Machines.* Frankfort, Legislative Research Commission, Commonwealth of Kentucky, 1958. 31 pages.
- Planning for College in New York State.* Albany, University of the State of New York, 1958. 81 pages.
- Podolsky, Edward (ed.): *The Neuroses and Their Treatment.* New York, Philosophical Library, Inc., 1958. 555 pages. \$10.00.
- Riker, William H: *Soldiers of the States.* Washington, D.C., Public

- Affairs Press, 1958. 129 pages. \$3.25.
- Roettinger, Ruth Locke: *The Supreme Court and State Police Power*. Washington, D.C., Public Affairs Press, 1958. 252 pages. \$4.50.
- Rose, Arnold M. (ed.): *The Institutions of Advanced Societies*. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1958. 691 pages. \$10.50.
- Rosenkranz, Samuel: *The Meaning in Your Life*. New York, Philosophical Library, Inc., 1958. 146 pages. \$3.00.
- Samuel, Viscount: *In Search of Reality*. New York, Philosophical Library, Inc., 1958. 229 pages. \$7.50.
- Schelling, Thomas C.: *International Economics*. Boston, Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1958. 551 pages. \$6.75.
- School Entrance Age*. Frankfort, Kentucky, Legislative Research Council, 1958. 26 pages.
- Service, Elman R.: *A Profile of Primitive Culture*. New York, Harper and Brothers, 1958. 474 pages. \$6.00.
- Smith, Howard R.: *Government and Business*. New York, The Ronald Press Company, 1958. 802 pages. \$7.50.
- State Funds for Rural and Secondary Roads*. Frankfort, Kentucky, Legislative Research Commission, 1957. 50 pages.
- Taeuber, Conrad, and Irene B. Taeuber: *The Changing Population of the United States*. New York, John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1958. 357 pages.
- Taylor, Griffith (ed.): *Geography in the 20th Century*. New York, Philosophical Library, Inc., 1957. 674 pages. \$10.00.
- Teachers Retirement System, Analysis of Proposed Revisions*. Frankfort, Kentucky, Legislative Research Commission, 1957. 34 pages.
- Winch, Robert F.: *Mate-Selection*. New York, Harper and Brothers, 1957. 349 pages. \$5.00.
- Wright, Louis B. (ed.): *Virginia Heritage*. Washington, D.C., Public Affairs Press, 1958. 50 pages. \$1.00.

The Association: Proceedings of the 1958 Convention

Minutes of the Executive Council, Southwestern Social Science Association, Thursday, April 3, 1958

The meeting was called to order at 8:30 P.M. by Dr. J. William Davis, President. Those present were: J. William Davis, Walter T. Watson, Alfred B. Sears, O. J. Curry, S. M. Kennedy, Tom Rose, James M. Owen, Harry E. Moore, Robert F. Smith, James W. Bennett, James W. Reddoch, James I. Culbert, John W. Payne, Jr., and Franz Adler.

It was moved and seconded that the minutes of the previous meeting be approved as published in the June, 1957, issue of the QUARTERLY. Motion carried.

President Davis then called on Dr. Smith for a report on the local arrangements for the convention. Dr. Smith discussed the arrangements, and said that several changes in room assignments had been necessary after the program was printed and that these changes had been listed and were included in the program to be distributed at the registration table. He requested that all Section Chairmen announce that the deadline for luncheon tickets was 10:00 A.M., April 4. He also announced that several publishers had book displays, but that some had indicated they would prefer a display room in a location more conspicuous than the one provided. He suggested that display space be given attention in plans for the next convention.

President Davis announced that invitations for the 1959 convention had

been received from hotels in several cities, and that representatives from three of these hotels had requested permission to discuss their facilities at this meeting of the Executive Council. Dr. Davis then gave each representative the opportunity to describe the facilities and attractions of his hotel and city. Mr. Brown spoke in behalf of the Hotel Adolphus, Dallas; Mr. Ward, in behalf of The Galvez and The Buccaneer, Galveston; and Mr. Jacobson in behalf of the Hilton Hotel, San Antonio. (A detailed list of facilities offered by each is included in the official file copy of these minutes.)

President Davis then called on Dr. Curry for a report from the committee appointed to consider a meeting time and place for the 1959 convention. Dr. Curry stated that replies to the questionnaire mailed to members indicated that of the 111 replies received, 50 preferred the Easter date and 61 preferred a time other than Easter. Of the latter, 12 preferred a fall meeting, 19 preferred a January or February time, and 29 preferred some time other than Easter between April 1 and May 15. As to the policy regarding location of the meeting, 60 preferred the practice of meeting in the Dallas-Fort Worth area two years and one year in a periphery location; 41 preferred that the ratio be one to one; 4 preferred a new location each year.

Dr. Davis pointed out that the selec-

tion of the 1959 meeting place would normally have been made at the last meeting of the Executive Council (April 20, 1957) but that it was deferred at that time primarily for the purpose of investigating the possibility of having the meeting in New Orleans. He said that the committee appointed to investigate New Orleans facilities reported that adequate facilities were available but that, because of state law, hotels could not admit Negroes as guests in dining rooms or in elevators, though they could attend meetings in the regular meeting rooms. It was then moved by Dr. Sears, and seconded by Dr. Adler, that New Orleans be eliminated in the consideration of a 1959 meeting place. Motion carried.

President Davis then presented information he had received from hotels in Houston, Oklahoma City, Austin, and El Paso, each of which had extended an invitation for the 1959 convention.

Dr. Reddoch moved, and Dr. Bennett seconded, that the 1959 convention be held in Galveston. Motion carried.

President Davis then asked whether the Council wished to make any recommendation to the General Business Session of the Association concerning the practice of meeting in the Dallas-Fort Worth area two years and in the periphery one year. Discussion followed, but no formal action was taken. However, Dr. Kennedy moved, and Dr. Reddoch seconded, that the incoming Executive Council give serious consideration to Oklahoma City as a possible meeting place for the 1960 convention. Dr. Adler presented an amendment to include Little Rock, Hot Springs, and New Orleans for consideration. The amendment was seconded by Dr. Bennett. Both motions carried.

Dr. Kennedy then presented the report of the General Program Chairman. In his report he emphasized the need for Section Chairmen to complete their program plans early and for close liaison between the General Program Chairman and the Editor of the *QUARTERLY*. He also reminded the Section Chairmen to give the names of the newly elected Section Chairmen and Associate Editors to the Secretary-Treasurer as soon as possible after the sectioned business meeting on Friday. Dr. Curry pointed out that last year's Executive Council had voted to recommend that Associate Editors be elected for two- or three-year terms, where feasible. He also suggested that the General Program Chairman for an ensuing year be invited to the Thursday meeting of the Executive Council each year.

President Davis then asked for the report of the Editor of the *QUARTERLY*. Dr. Moore presented a written report, a copy of which is included in the official file copy of these minutes. He pointed out orally that though some income was produced directly from the operation of the *QUARTERLY*, the journal was not self-supporting and that more than half the cost of its publication was supplied by subsidy.

President Davis announced that Dr. Leon C. Megginson had recently requested that he be relieved as Secretary-Treasurer of the Association and that he had accepted the resignation. Dr. Davis stated that he had appointed Dr. James M. Owen to serve as Secretary-Treasurer for the remainder of Dr. Megginson's term. It was moved and seconded that the appointment be approved by the Executive Council. Motion carried.

Dr. Owen then presented the Treasurer's report prepared by Dr. Meggin-

son. Dr. Curry moved, and Dr. Culbert seconded, that the report be adopted with a strong expression of appreciation to Dr. Megginson for his services as Secretary-Treasurer. Motion carried.

President Davis announced that, in accordance with past policy, he recommended extending life membership in the Association to Dr. Megginson and to Dr. Frederic Meyers, each having served for three years as Secretary-Treasurer and Editor, respectively. It was moved and seconded that the recommendation be approved and given effect. Motion carried.

Following brief discussion, Dr. Owen moved, and Dr. Bennett seconded, that the Secretary-Treasurer of the Association be bonded for \$5,000,

the premium to be paid by the Association. Motion carried.

Dr. Bennett then discussed the fact that the poll taken by Dr. Curry's committee indicated many members preferred a meeting time other than Easter. He moved that each section be requested to take a vote to indicate the meeting time preferred. The motion died for lack of a second.

President Davis reminded the Section Chairmen of the need for each section to hold a business meeting on Friday to elect a Section Chairman and an Associate Editor.

The meeting adjourned at 11:15 P.M.

James M. Owen
Secretary-Treasurer

Minutes of the General Business Meeting, Southwestern Social Science Association, Saturday, April 5, 1958

The meeting was called to order at 8 A.M. by President J. William Davis.

It was moved and seconded that the minutes of the previous meeting be approved as reported in the June, 1957, issue of the QUARTERLY. Motion carried.

President Davis called for the Treasurer's report. Dr. Owen presented the report prepared by Dr. Megginson for the fiscal year ending February 28, 1958. It was moved and seconded that the report be accepted. Motion carried. A copy of the report is attached to the official file copy of these minutes.

Dr. A. B. Sears presented the report of the Membership Committee, stating that although the exact membership was not known at that time, there had been a net increase for the year. His report was accepted.

Dr. John Arch White, in behalf of Dr. E. V. McCollough, presented the report of the Audit Committee. The re-

port showed that the financial records of the Secretary-Treasurer had been reviewed and were found to be in order. This report was accepted. In connection with the Audit Committee report, Dr. Davis suggested that because of certain financial records being kept by the Editor of the QUARTERLY, appointments to the Audit Committee in the future should include at least one committeeman located at the same school as the Editor.

Dr. White then suggested that it might be desirable to consider the possibility of scheduling Thursday afternoon or evening sessions for the annual meeting of the Association at Galveston in 1959. He pointed out that attendance at the Saturday-morning sessions of some sections has sometimes been very small and that Thursday afternoon or evening sessions in lieu of Saturday-morning sessions might afford a solution to that problem. Such

a schedule would also afford extra time on the week end for those planning to combine a holiday in Galveston with the meeting. General discussion followed his remarks, but no formal action was taken.

Dr. Rufus G. Hall, chairman of the Constitutional Amendments Committee, reported that the committee had no recommendations for changes or amendments to the constitution. His report was accepted.

Dr. George T. Walker, chairman of the Committee on Institutional Memberships, reported that plans were being made to improve the method of soliciting and billing institutional members. This report was accepted.

Dr. Robert F. Smith, chairman of the Local Arrangements Committee, discussed the work done by his committee and expressed appreciation for the fine co-operation received from the Hotel Adolphus and the Dallas Chamber of Commerce. Following his report, a motion was received from the floor to commend Dr. Smith and his committee for their excellent work. This motion, seconded, carried unanimously.

Professor Ira G. Clark, chairman of the Resolutions Committee, presented three resolutions. Copies of these resolutions are attached to the official file copy of these minutes. Each of the resolutions was adopted by unanimous vote. The Secretary-Treasurer was directed to report the action taken on Resolution Number 3 (recommending that greater attention be given to subject matter in establishing criteria for teacher certification) to the certifying agency of each of the Southwestern states.

Dr. S. M. Kennedy presented a report as General Program Chairman for the 1958 convention. He expressed appreciation for the co-operation he had received, giving special recognition to Dr. Robert F. Smith and the Hotel Adolphus. He also called attention to the large number of exhibitors at this convention and to the increase in income to the Association accruing therefrom.

President Davis announced the following as having been elected to serve the various sections for the coming year:

| <i>Section</i> | <i>Chairman</i> | <i>Associate Editor of QUARTERLY</i> |
|-------------------------|--|--|
| Accounting | Emerson Henke Baylor University | Sam Woolsey University of Houston |
| Agricultural Economics | John H. Southern USDA, College Station, Texas | John H. Southern USDA, College Station, Texas |
| Business Administration | William H. Day University of Tulsa | Sam Leifeste Texas Christian University |
| Business Research | Francis B. May University of Texas | Paul Rigby University of Houston |
| Economics | Maurice Erickson Southwest Texas State | Wendell C. Gordon University of Texas |
| Geography | C. C. Bajza Texas Col. of Arts and Industries | Ralph Olson University of Oklahoma |
| Government | T. C. Sinclair University of Houston | Dick Smith Tarleton State College |
| History | W. T. Hagan North Texas State College | Jack Haddick University of Houston |
| Sociology | Warren Breed Tulane University | Donald Stewart University of Arkansas |

President Davis then asked Dr. O. J. Curry to repeat the report he had given to the Executive Council concerning the poll of membership on the question of preferable times and locations for the annual meeting of the Association. Dr. Curry stated that replies to the questionnaire mailed to members showed that of the 111 replying, 50 preferred the Easter meeting time and 61 preferred some date between April 1 and May 15. As to the policy regarding the location of the meeting, 60 preferred the practice of meeting in the Dallas-Fort Worth area two years and one year in a periphery location; 41 preferred that the ratio be one to one; 4 preferred a new location each year. The general discussion following this report included comments concerning the advantages and disadvantages of the Easter meeting time. No formal action was taken.

Dr. O. J. Curry then gave the report of the Nominating Committee. The

following officers were nominated: President, Walter T. Watson, Southern Methodist University; First Vice-President, Alfred B. Sears, University of Oklahoma; Second Vice-President, Stanley A. Arbingast, University of Texas. It was moved and seconded that nominations be closed and that these be declared elected. Motion carried.

The meeting was then turned over to Dr. Watson, who expressed his appreciation and his hopes that the coming year would be a successful one.

Dr. Bruce M. Pringle announced that some members of the Association might be interested in knowing of the availability at a minimum fee of computer facilities at Southern Methodist University for academic research projects.

After an announcement concerning the meeting of the Executive Council, the meeting was adjourned.

James M. Owen
Secretary-Treasurer

Minutes of the Executive Council, Southwestern Social Science Association, Saturday, April 5, 1958

The meeting was called to order at 9:00 A.M. by President Walter T. Watson. Those present were: Walter T. Watson, Alfred B. Sears, Stanley Arbingast, J. William Davis, O. J. Curry, Chester F. Lay, S. M. Kennedy, James M. Owen, and Harry E. Moore. Also the following Section Chairmen: William H. Day, Maurice Erickson, Charles C. Bajza, T. C. Sinclair, and Warren Breed. Also the following ex-Chairmen: James W. Bennett, James B. Giles, and Franz Adler.

It was moved and seconded that Dr. James M. Owen be elected Secretary-Treasurer for the coming year. Motion carried.

Motion was then made and seconded that the minutes of the previous meeting as reported in the *QUARTERLY* for June, 1957, be approved. Motion carried.

Motion was made and seconded that Dr. Harry E. Moore be re-elected Editor of the *QUARTERLY* for the coming year. Motion carried.

President Watson announced his appointment of Dr. Chester F. Lay as General Program Chairman for the 1959 convention. Dr. Watson briefly discussed the convention, and Dr. Davis stated that Mr. Ward, representing the Galveston hotels, would be available for consultation with Dr. Watson and

Dr. Lay at the close of the meeting. Dr. Adler suggested that inquiry be made of Mr. Ward concerning the availability of facilities for the Negro members of the Association.

President Watson then introduced representatives of three hotels: the Baker Hotel, Dallas; Hotel Adolphus, Dallas; and the Hilton Hotel, San Antonio. Each representative described the convention facilities available at his hotel and extended an invitation to the Association to hold its 1960 convention there.

Following general discussion of possible meeting places in 1960, Dr. Moore moved that the selection of the hotel for the 1960 convention be deferred, to be determined later by a mail ballot of the Executive Council or at the next meeting of the Executive Council. Motion was seconded and passed.

President Watson announced that he would welcome suggestions for appointments to the Local Arrangements Committee for the 1959 convention.

After general discussion, Dr. Kennedy moved, and Dr. Davis seconded, that a membership list of the Association be prepared and distributed as early as practicable.

Dr. Davis announced that he had received two inquiries concerning recognition of two new sections in the Association. He stated that he was not certain of any prescribed procedure for handling such requests. After general discussion, Dr. Davis moved, and Dr. Day seconded, that any group desiring recognition as a new section of the Association shall present to the Executive Council information concerning the na-

ture of its proposed program content, the names of tentative members, and justification for approval of the section in conformity with Article VI of the constitution. Motion carried.

Dr. Davis then moved that the above statement be referred to the Committee on Constitutional Amendments to see whether it should be incorporated in the By-laws of the Association. Motion, seconded by Dr. Curry, passed.

Dr. Lay then requested consideration of the question of scheduling sessions on Thursday afternoon or evening in lieu of, or in addition to, Saturday-morning sessions. General discussion followed, with no formal action. One suggestion for coping with the problem of small attendance at Saturday-morning sessions was that joint meetings of two or more sections might be scheduled for that time.

Dr. Moore suggested the possible desirability of having a designated press representative to aid in securing full news coverage of the meetings. With no formal action taken, the consensus of the general discussion seemed to be that the General Program Chairman and the Local Arrangements Committee should be responsible for seeing that adequate coverage is provided.

Dr. Curry suggested that as an aid in getting new members, printed material giving information about the Association might be made available to the members. He distributed copies of such material that has been used in previous years. No formal action was taken.

The meeting adjourned at 11:00 A.M.

James M. Owen
Secretary-Treasurer

Secretary-Treasurer's Report, Southwestern Social Science Association, Comparative Statement of Cash Receipts and Disbursements for the Years Ending February 28, 1958; February 28, 1957; and February 29, 1956

| <i>Cash receipts from:</i> | 1958 | 1957 | 1956 |
|---|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| Individual memberships | \$2,436.50 | \$1,956.00 | \$2,111.00 |
| Library memberships | 875.50 | 872.68 | 785.00 |
| Institutional memberships | 10.00 | 4.00 | 135.00 |
| Sale of back issues of QUARTERLY | 9.25 | 196.75 | 133.62 |
| Display space at convention | 490.00 | 330.00 | 630.00 |
| Advertising in Annual Program | 380.00 | 445.00 | 160.00 |
| Advertising in QUARTERLY | 316.67 | 196.67 | 365.17 |
| Receipts from banquet and luncheon | 217.80 | 411.60 | 509.30 |
| Sale of reprints | 229.45 | 126.16 | 127.00 |
| Miscellaneous | 10.96 | 35.00 | 7.00 |
| Total receipts | <u>\$4,976.13</u> | <u>\$4,573.86</u> | <u>\$4,963.09</u> |
| <i>Cash disbursements for:</i> | | | |
| QUARTERLY expenses: | | | |
| Printing | | | |
| March issue | \$ 742.30 | 858.05 | 819.40 |
| June issue | 766.90 | 755.25 | 928.55 |
| September issue | 773.35 | 335.40† | 233.78† |
| December issue | 193.15* | 776.90 | 757.80 |
| Editor's petty cash and other expenses | 94.91 | 132.26 | 157.97 |
| Wrappers | 37.74 | 29.36 | 44.20 |
| Net QUARTERLY expenses | <u>\$2,608.35‡</u> | <u>\$2,887.22‡</u> | <u>\$2,941.70‡</u> |
| <i>Convention expenses:</i> | | | |
| Printing programs | 128.75 | 276.41 | 182.38 |
| Expense of General Program | 3.30 | 5.00 | 66.00 |
| Banquet and luncheon | 217.80 | 444.95 | 509.45 |
| Registration expenses | 24.90 | 24.96 | 12.34 |
| Total | <u>\$ 374.75</u> | <u>\$ 751.32</u> | <u>\$ 770.17</u> |
| <i>Expenses of Secretary-Treasurer:</i> | | | |
| Postage | 40.06 | 10.00 | 60.00 |
| Stationery and office supplies | 20.00 | 37.44 | 3.05 |

* Plus University of Texas subsidy, \$600.00

† Plus University of Texas subsidy, \$500.00

‡ Plus University of Texas subsidy of \$3,800.00

Total QUARTERLY cost for 1957/1958, \$6,408.35

Expenses of Secretary-Treasurer—continued

| | | | |
|---|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| Clerical expenses | 330.01 | 288.90 | . . . |
| Miscellaneous | 4.00 | 41.00 | 4.00 |
| Total | <u>\$ 394.07</u> | <u>\$ 377.34</u> | <u>\$ 67.05</u> |
| Total cash disbursed | <u>\$3,377.17</u> | <u>\$4,041.84</u> | <u>\$3,841.45</u> |
| Excess of disbursements or receipts . . | \$1,598.96 | \$ 532.02 | \$1,121.64 |
| Add cash balance at beginning of year . | 3,283.49 | 2,751.47 | 1,629.83 |
| Cash balance at end of year\$. . | <u>\$4,882.45</u> | <u>\$3,283.49</u> | <u>\$2,751.47</u> |
| <hr/> | | | |
| \$ Louisiana National Bank | \$4,857.45 | | |
| Editor's petty cash fund | 25.00 | | |
| Total | <u>\$4,882.45</u> | | |

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